

IO PARASCHAKI

Anarcho Communism: A Unified Theory

Editor: Io Paraschaki
Cover Art: Io Paraschaki

January, 2022, Athens, Greece.
First Edition

December, 2023, Munich, Germany.
Second Edition, Revised.

Dedicated to humanity

TABLE OF

Introduction

1

1 	Neoliberalism defined	4
2 	Commodification, Alienation, and the Spectacle	25
3 	Race, Gender, and Intersectionality	40
4 	Class, and the State Ownership of the means of production	56
5 	Neofascism	73
6 	Marxism-Leninism	82
7 	The right-wing spectrum ends in State Capitalism	97
8 	The historic role of the Class State	105
9 	The recuperation of Socialism	115
10 	Indigenous anarchism to anarchocommunism	128

CONTENTS

11 	Nationalism, and Egoism	152
12 	Intersectional, Green, and Anarchist	166
13 	Utopianism, Centralization, and Authority	189
14 	The left-wing spectrum	216
15 	The road to Revolution	230
16 	Patriarchal Capitalism: the exchange of a person's psyche for bread	246
	17 The anarchocommunist ideology	261
18 	The moral answer about the planet and its people	284
	<i>Endnote</i>	301

Introduction

This book was a difficult one to start and to finish; it's my first book, after all.

This isn't an easy read, but it's very much necessary to lay the material reality bare, especially now that the earth is dying. Because it *is* dying, and we all need to come together to save it.

In it, I discuss sociology and political science. I construct the left-wing & right-wing spectra of political ideologies, present my own cyclical political model and new terms, and expand on the theory of anarchocommunism.

I know it sounds like a lot, but we need to know what's happening in the world around us, and who is to blame. The main perpetrator is capitalism so I argue against it in favour of anarchocommunism, and propose solutions for addressing the inequality of the system.

The point of it is for you, the reader, to understand that patriarchy and capitalism are interconnected

systems in need of immediate abolishment - they are the culprits of today's ills we and our societies face.

The people around you believe in many different political ideologies. Some are right-wingers, some are lefties, some are apolitical. All of us are much more similar in thought than we realise though, and this is what you need to consider when going into this book.

In order for this to happen we need to keep an open mind, and I think defining neoliberalism is the perfect start.

Thank you for reading this,

Io

1| Neoliberalism defined

Let's talk about neoliberalism.

There isn't a strict definition of the term, but generally speaking, it can be thought of as the amalgamation of economic policies associated with laissez-faire, free market capitalism.

The ideology of neoliberalism is associated with opposing unions, increasing the role of the private sector in the economy, 'liberalizing' finance, letting markets set the prices, deregulation, privatization, 'free trade', globalization, reduction in government spending, and sharp increase of government debt, i.e. austerity for the poor and working class, welfare for the rich.

Neoliberalism does not simply advocate laissez-faire policies like liberalism, though, it also advocates a strong state to bring about market-like reforms in every aspect of society. Every. Single. One.

The reforms never favour the liberation of the individual, and neoliberal economic policy never actually alleviates anything.

As an example, the English economist William Hutt imagined that voting power in post-apartheid South Africa could be made proportional to economic weight.

Milton Friedman agreed that one man, one vote would be terrible for South Africa, and Hayek worried that putting sanctions on South Africa would upset the 'global order'.

They didn't actually favour apartheid, but they were against almost anything that might bring it to an end, especially democracy.

Neoliberalism is concerned with freedom, and by freedom it means the 'free market': The freedom to buy products in a way that maximizes profit and financial capital, and the government simply exists to facilitate this market and keep it from imploding.

This freedom isn't actual freedom because the only thing that equals freedom under neoliberalism is having money.

Huge corporations control much of the international economy and dominate policy formation, not to mention the structuring of thought and opinion by buying and selling channels and ads.

Noam Chomsky argues that even Adam Smith, in his book: The Wealth of Nations, criticized free markets and corporations. He argued that there's no conflict between liberty and equality, and spoke about equality of outcome and not of opportunity.

Adam Smith was opposed to monopolies and believed these corporate concentrations of power were dangerous to liberty. Smith also supported a labour theory of value.

Neoliberalism's repeated endangerments of democracy, workers' rights, and sovereign nations' right to self-determination are unquestionable at this point.

In his book, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, Vladimir Lenin argues that the majority of

monetary transactions globally are mediated through banks, so capital moves freely from one location to another to maximize profits and minimize costs.

Through continued concentration and capital mobility at the global level, oligopolies control networks of clusters of smaller companies scattered around the globe, adding to their monopolistic status.

In order to attract these corporations to invest, governments of the developing world offer all sorts of concessions to them, including lower taxes and 'labour-union-free' environments.

As an example, see the horrible labour conditions, such as long hours and low wages, in current sweatshops in China and elsewhere to meet demand from other Imperialist powers.

Saeed Rahnema argues that today almost every part of the world is dominated by the neoliberal capitalist system, and it continues to expand extensively and intensively, and with it, so does Imperialism.

These imperialist capitalist giant global corporations, like Google, Amazon, Facebook, Uber, Airbnb, and others, engage in aggressive and expansionist behaviours; see also multinational conglomerates like Altria Group and groups like Koch Network.

Modern neoliberal economics is just as dogmatic as its nineteenth century predecessors. It seeks to maximize profits and minimise costs. It rests on a set of simplistic and unrealistic assertions about the character of the market, and the behaviour of market actors.

The economist critics of neoliberalism have repeatedly exposed how destructive, and unrealistic the assumptions are upon which the neoliberal model is based.

Left-wing politics means the support of social equality and egalitarianism, often in opposition to social hierarchy. The terms 'Left' and 'Right' referred to the

seating arrangement in the French Estates General during the French revolution.

This is kind of reductive and Eurocentric, but even under that definition, neoliberalism doesn't actually support social equality. Social equality requires economic equality.

From a linguistic approach, the straight genealogical line back to the term's origin is a trail strewn with inconsistencies and divergences.

The problem with neoliberalism is neither that it has no meaning, nor that it has an infinite number of them.

It is that the term stands first and foremost for the late capitalist economy of our times, for a globally circulating bundle of policy measures, and for the culture that surrounds and entraps us in this capitalist social 'democracy'.

Neoliberalism outlines the saddest and most totalizing scenario of all, in which the horizons of all other meanings and purposes shrink, and submit to those of capitalism and its markets. This isn't freedom in the slightest.

Neoliberalism can't be conflated with leftism because that's simply not correct. From a historical point of view, in the US, neoliberal thought reached back to progressive ideas, but it tapped into conservatism early on.

This ideology owes as much to the CEOs, financiers, and management consultants as it does to the theories of bourgeois academics.

The argument that 'free markets' expand prosperity is incorrect, demonstrated by the fact that in the 1970s those who supported 'economic freedom' supported some of the most brutal regimes, and the fact that neoliberal policies dismantled institutions that had promoted equality after the Second World War.

These included welfare and other social benefits, organized labour, public education, pro-labour wage policies, trade protections, capital and currency controls, and progressive taxation.

Neoliberals don't want to regulate the 'free' market, create safety nets, and redistribute profits, they want to further worsen these matters.

Furthermore, neoliberal policies and institutions give priority to investment and investors. Investments are used as a tool neoliberal capitalism wields in order to enact Imperialism, and seek profits on a global scale.

A capitalist company, usually backed by a neoliberal capitalist country, pushes a foreign nation to accept agreements about some lucrative investments, for example, that do not actually favour the nation's inhabitants, and result in more gruelling working conditions for its people.

Neoliberalism is, first and foremost, a capitalist ideology that operates according to capitalist principles. Same is the case for the entire right wing - they're strictly capitalist ideologies. Their main objective is to expand capitalism, not curtail it.

The right includes mostly neoliberals, liberals, and conservatives. The libertarian movement evolved from classical liberalism, and even tho a small part of left-libertarianism is associated with libertarian socialism, the term has been largely co-opted by the right.

Right libertarians are close to conservatism, and left libertarians are close to modern liberalism, except libertarian socialists, since markets and anti-statism combined create power vacuums, oppressive modes, and serve the interests of capitalism - we will elaborate on this later.

Conservatism, and the more aggressive neo-conservatism, are small state ideologies set to preserve capitalism, and 'traditional' values and institutions like

the church, gender roles, racial hierarchies, militarism, etc., i.e. oppressive structures and modes.

Social liberalism and economic liberalism are right-wing ideologies, as is the entire spectrum of liberalism, since economic equality is a prerequisite for social equality.

Liberalism is a capitalist ideology but it, and more so neoliberalism, wants a stronger state and is more supportive of human and civil rights than conservatism.

Liberals and conservatives are usually allies tho - the maximization of company profits is their highest principle.

Conservatives and liberals argue that austerity and cuts to social policies are necessary, even when poverty, income inequality, and other ills that plague society, are rising in order to save money.

Neoliberals as well argue that free-market, i.e. more unregulated capitalism, is the answer to inequality, even when they appear more socially progressive.

The above processes are shamefully exemplified by the economic policies neoliberal, liberal and conservative parties vote in, and argue in favour of.

Neoliberal and liberal parties include the Democrats in the US, and the Labour party in the UK. Conservative parties are more socially conservative, and include the German CDU and the UK Tories.

Note here tho that right-wing ideologies highly overlap with each other, and are disingenuous. For example, the UK Labour party is a neoliberal party that claims social democracy.

As another example, the French 'En Marche!' is a liberal party usually agreeing with European conservatives, same is the case for the New Democracy party in Greece.

The functional differences between right-wing parties are in essence non-existent, and the impact their policies have on the lower classes is very similar.

Fascist attitudes are also highly embroiled in the right-wing, and specifically in far-right ideologies like conservatism, see how in Iran the economic policies of Ali Khamenei co-exist with authoritarianism and religious fundamentalism.

The right-wing ideological spectrum will be analysed more in future chapters, but for now, one thing is clear. Neoliberalism, which is supposedly less aggressive than conservatism, oppresses people.

Moreover, liberalism and neoliberalism use the state for their benefit. They claim, for example, to not want subsidies, but they all take them, and they all rely on the state, military and police to protect their privileged access to property.

Neoliberal projects privatize public goods, eliminate and transform regulations, and create more free markets - think school vouchers, or carbon trading.

In order to protect the value of investments, neoliberal monetary policy causes inflation in many cases, and neoliberals have abandoned the stated goal of full employment.

These people aren't leftists, they're capitalists, and at the end of the day, the left's problem is with ideas, not words.

Words matter, but words can't do the work for us. Neoliberalism is against social equality since it perpetuates income inequality.

I'd like to debunk another argument here, the one that states since market socialism can be put on the left under certain strict conditions and has, you know, the word market in it, then neoliberalism can too be understood as a left wing ideology because it supports 'markets'.

This is absurd. As David Lane writes, by market socialism, we mean a blending of public ownership with a market-type economy, which will gradually go towards full public ownership of the means of production, and indicative planning.

While market socialism has flaws, it's a step away from social democracy and neoliberalism, and a movement towards socialism. I disagree with market socialism myself, but it has no affiliation with neoliberalism.

Even in the most right-wing interpretation possible, the proposal is still for the public to have ownership of all large, established business corporations.

Whereas small and medium enterprises remain unchanged under private ownership, like retail trade, family farms, professional partnerships and small entrepreneurial firms.

Market socialism is a continuation of Keynesianism, whereas neoliberalism is a complete inversion of it.

Neoliberalism isn't leftism because, to put it bluntly, to be a leftist you have to be anti-capitalist. The most charitable approach I can give is that social democrats are on the centre, and neoliberals and liberals are distinctively right-wing.

Furthermore, the vague idea of 'markets' isn't the same as 'free markets' - these are exclusively a liberal concept associated with capitalism and Laissez-faire, and not with physical marketplaces, or even with the process of buying and selling.

Even within a market economy in a social democracy, where there's a range between smaller regulation and an interventionist approach, the so-called planned economies still have the characteristic of a single organizational body, i. e a state, regulating the forces and means of production, and this again has nothing to

do with neoliberalism - neoliberalism focuses on deregulation.

Social democrats are situated in the centre since they actually support Keynesian economics, as in the severe intervention of the state in capitalist economy and in free markets.

Social democracy is an attempt to strengthen the welfare state, and not build an alternative economic system to capitalism, tho.

Social democratic parties include the Greek Syriza, and somewhat the German SPD that won the 2021 elections. Every social democratic party, once in power, soon finds itself choosing, at one point after another, between the socialist society it aspires to and the liberal society that lathered it.

As Rosa Luxemburg put it, the program of social democrats becomes not the realisation of socialism, but the reformation of capitalism. Unfortunately, many social democrats highly overlap with neoliberals when it comes to public policy.

Peter Coffin, with whom I disagree fervently in many things, writes that 'the market' in this sense exists only in the abstract, so it has no standardized processes, no means of transactions, and no regulation.

It doesn't actually mean anything besides "guys, let's look at peoples' thoughts like a free market. I worship the free market to attempt to fill the gaping hole left by an absent God!"

Neoliberalism is simply a close cousin of 'compassionate conservatism' - which is what the Bush and Clinton administrations were implementing, as well.

Vague popular policies in order to appeal to a left-leaning demographic, but without actually alienating conservatives; in other words, obviously maintaining classist, and bigoted, power structures.

Neoliberalism doesn't just lead to fascism, it creates it at times, and of course reinforces it. This is what capitalist ideologies do.

Pinochet was more or less a neoliberal fascist, and was supported by liberals like Hayek and Thatcher, so fascism is also, at the very least, a blatant manifestation of unregulated capitalism.

Fascism manifests when capitalism is threatened, and needs protection from its own tendency of oppressive inequality.

Neoliberal capitalism is extensively propertarian, and in truth, shouldn't be associated with progressivism.

Progressivism supports social reforms that improve human and humane conditions, with the goal of protecting social welfare.

This is incompatible with the vast economic inequality, the out-of-control monopolistic corporations, and the intense, often violent conflicts between workers and capitalists (and workers and workers) that capitalism has created, and sustained.

Social democrats are further to the left than neoliberals, but they're still not leftists. Even those who've called for the social democratic movement to 'move past the third way' don't support state ownership of big business, and just support a carefully conceived 'social justice' reform, usually to appease the objections of progressives.

This is another point with which they agree with neoliberals, see how and when Joe Biden supported legalizing gay marriage, but his lack of support for free healthcare.

The right-wing cuts government expenditures and lowers taxes for the rich, they deny free healthcare and unemployment benefits, and raise private investments.

The socdem movement has roots in earlier progressive politics, like feminism and the civil rights

movement, but this was prior to this neoliberal disengagement from economic concerns.

In truth, Social Democracies exclude the non-citizen and therefore merely externalize exploitation; moreover, capital is basically free to undo any reforms.

Consider, for example, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr who in May of 1967 argued that it was time for the civil rights era to transition into a human rights era that entailed tackling poverty – not just African American poverty, but poverty as such.

He named this movement, the Poor People's Campaign, and the primary concern was to fight for economic justice for all people. It was anti-racist, anti-capitalist politics.

By contrast, neoliberals and socdems, by abandoning this broader struggle for economic justice, effectively inverted Dr. King's aspirational trajectory rather than advancing it.

Dr. King was murdered in the course of supporting a labour strike after all; never forget that.

Neoliberals just become 'more liberal' about 'social issues' as they grow wealthier, as long as these social issues are defined in such a way that they have nothing to do with decreasing the increased inequalities brought about by capitalism.

At a functional level, neoliberals are actually anti-left. Neoliberalism is all about diversity without equality, it's 'anti-discriminatory' on paper but pro-inequality in practice.

Things like fighting against economic exploitation and for economic justice, while good for the life prospects of poor and working people, are bad for markets, and subsequently for neoliberalism.

If you observe this bit of neoliberal governing rationality alone, you'll get why they weaponize identity politics against libsocs and end up helping the far-right;

look, for example, at the 'Bernie bro' narrative they fostered while they provided Trump with a podium and attention, time and time again.

The Bernie bro framework tells us that all the bigots are on the radical ends of the political spectrums, while the middle are the rationals.

Neoliberals through for-profit media claim they're the logical choice, while all the rest of us are the extremists.

The socdem-to-fascist pipeline, commonly known as the alt-right pipeline, is unfortunately a thing tho, and it brought us Trump, Bolsonaro, etc.

The radicals *and* the moderates face oppression, and their ideological differences have much to do with how each of them views their individual oppression. There are many similarities in seemingly different ideologies - many ideological dichotomies are ill-informed.

The state we have today is explicitly sexist, racist and ultranationalist at the core, we never had a proletarian state or even a Keynesian state, and many people don't know these differences, for instance.

The liberal vs conservative dichotomy is false, they're simply presented as the two opposing factions. Franklin Roosevelt's socdem New Deal was presented at the opposite of both fascism and state capitalism.

The political philosophies of neoliberalism and socialism are categorically distinct with each having different history and evolution.

The New Deal was anti-socialist in the same way neoliberal capitalism is, in that it leaves the capitalists free to undo any gains. Leftists of all kinds do understand that capitalism can not be reformed.

So to sum up, neoliberals believe in active intervention from the state in order to increase capitalist profit-making, i.e. deregulation of the 'free market economy', centrists like socdems believe in some intervention in capitalism in order to help citizens at

least to a degree, and leftists, like anarchists, socialists and communists are anti-capitalist.

The ideology and priorities of neoliberals/liberals can be best summed up with the answer House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi provided: "Well I thank you for your question, but I have to say we're capitalists, and that's just the way it is."

Maxine Waters hit the nail on the head and put it in the coffin by recently stating emphatically: "The Democratic Party is not a socialist party."

Neoliberals are, in earnest, capitalists waging a class war against poor and middle-class people, and the justice they claim to provide should be much more material in nature.

Material justice is the kind of justice that addresses peoples' material needs, like redistributing income and means of production, the decarceration of prisons, the reformation/abolishment of the police, etc.

Noam Chomsky argues that justice should be derived from the complex reality of real situations, and from ideas like internationalism. Liberal capitalist social democracies don't really follow from their theory or have any real basis for that matter.

There's a class conscious and powerful business community that constantly fights a relentless class war. This community has an overwhelming power over the political system, and they manufacture the public's consent through influencing the media and the State.

He argues that a century ago, when big corporations were first introduced, classical liberals and conservatives were staunchly opposed to them - some even called them a return to feudalism.

Chomsky also notes that James Madison, the 4th US President, didn't really like democracy because he knew that if people were given the chance, they'd vote

according to their interests, that means they'd vote for a more equal distribution of wealth.

Madison didn't want that, he wanted rich people and their 'rights to property' to be protected, not 'infringed upon'. As a result, Madison devised a system where these rich people would have all the power, and poor people were simply fractionalized.

Chomsky argues that on the other hand, Aristotle favoured democracy, and by democracy, he meant a community of equals where everyone participated.

Let's put aside the fact that slaves and women didn't vote during Aristotle's time, and let's focus on what he wrote and what we can learn/apply from it.

Aristotle eventually faced the same problem as Madison did, but he reached a different conclusion. He understood that if we had a society where all people participated but there was radical wealth inequality, then the poorest part of the population, the majority that is, would use their power to advance their own interests.

Democracy for him was to pursue the common good of all, not just the minority of the wealthy, but whereas Madison reduced democracy so rich people won't be threatened, Aristotle wanted to reduce inequality so that the problem wouldn't arise in the first place.

Chomsky states that Aristotle basically advocated for a welfare state, for a participatory democracy, and sufficient property so that all people had a sustainable income.

One needn't read any theory to notice that 'one person one vote' and 'vote with your dollar' are fundamentally incompatible.

Democracy is possible, but not under capitalism. The Senate makes sure that the power stays in the hands of the wealthy, and the international community acts the same way.

If any country tries to change things, and implements social policies that are against the interests of the wealthy, then capital flows out of it, and the country goes down the tube, Chomsky continues - this is a point that Lenin also emphasized as an imperialist capitalist tactic from a different angle.

He also explains why 'property rights' are not like other rights. He begins by pointing out that the right to property is different from the right of free speech, for example. If you have the right to a property, then I don't have the right to that property. Your right to freedom of speech, though, doesn't interfere with my right to free speech.

Most people don't have the right to property and they of course want to change that, Chomsky argues, but the Madisonian US system doesn't allow this to happen.

He mentions that corporations have enormous rights beyond a person's rights; they're basically immortal, and an attack on 'free markets'. As I understand it, by markets he means the processes that govern transactions, and not the laissez-faire concept.

The rights of corporations were created by the judicial system, and they rely on public subsidy; most would not survive otherwise.

This situation can change, he notes - 95% of the population wants corporations to sacrifice profits for the working class. He proposes that another message can circulate the working class movements, the message that these autocratic corporations shouldn't exist at all.

He mentions that even wage labour was viewed as an unacceptable infringement on human rights, and that this wasn't a 'radical' position. The slogan of the Republican party in 1870 was that wage labour is not so different from chattel slavery. He notes that these positions were mainstream right until corporations were founded 100 years or so ago.

Noam Chomsky argues that in the world in which we live, we only have two choices. We either eliminate the federal reserve and basically let the banks do whatever they want, or we use the few mechanisms that exist to deal with financial crises.

It would be nice, he says, if we were in another world where these things wouldn't happen, but we're not.

When a housing bubble is created by predatory activities of the major financial institutions and it bursts creating a huge economic crisis, we must use the tools that are available to us like the federal reserve and government stimulus. Inflation is often caused by liquidity traps, i.e. hoarding funds, he added.

Central banks are not the reason for the financial crisis, he argues, it's conceivable to happen if they inflate the money, but this wasn't the case. The right's predictions about inflation are a self-inflicted fever dream, and we have to pay attention to the facts of the world; we do not live in a dream world, he states.

Central banks exacerbate financial crises tho, and can diminish their prevention. The kind of policies they implement should be the main focus, for now, and right-wing economic policies are against the interests of the working class.

Noam Chomsky spoke about opportunities to cooperate with those we disagree with, by mentioning the fact that he writes for the New York Times, but he doesn't share their worldview.

Opposition to military interventions, and opposition to the kind of state power that subsidizes and supports predatory, destructive corporate institutions are issues upon which most people could find common ground.

Chomsky strongly believes that If you care about people and their fate, you have to make hard choices according to what opportunities exist now.

On the issue of privatization, he mentions that when the right wants to privatize something, they just defund it.

When that happens, there's a drop in quality so people start to complain, and then rightwingers will suggest privatization as the best solution. He gives the example of Margaret Thatcher, and the privatization of the UK railroads.

Americans have been fed the message that they should only care about themselves, he continues. You shouldn't care if a disabled widow survives, you should only care if you have enough shoes.

The right talks about ludicrous concepts that mean nothing, like efficiency. And how do they measure efficiency, you might ask?

Well, according to profits, and if the costs are high, they simply transfer them to the public. You may very well need to take the 11 PM bus to work, but if they don't make enough money from this route, they'll simply cut it. They may even say that the solution is for you to take a limousine, if you're in a hurry.

Chomsky concludes that privatization is a scam which undercuts democracy; it takes something from the public and puts it in the hands of a private and unaccountable tyranny.

Capitalist right-wing ideologies, like neoliberalism, are the enemy of the people, but these ideologies also have people espousing and supporting them.

These people are *not* the enemy. The people need education, understanding, and discussion. We're all alone in this hellscape, we only have each other.

I'll just leave you with a quote by Walter Benn Michaels: "You know you live in a world that loves neoliberalism when having some people of colour who are rich is supposed to count as good news for all the people of colour who are poor."

Anarchocommunism

2| Commodification, Alienation, and the Spectacle

According to György Lukács, reification is the process by which social relations among individuals are thought of as aspects of the people involved in them, or as aspects of some product (commodity).

Namely, the objects become subjects and subjects become objects. As a result, subjects are turned into passive elements, while objects are made to be the active, controlling elements.

For example, the 'American Dream', meaning the idea of achieving wealth, status, and power, is an object that has been made into an active goal of life, and a controlling subject for many.

Whereas those chasing this dream have become passive objects, their own fate is fully dictated by the pursuit of achieving it. This has been particularly true under neoliberalism.

Commodification is a form of reification, and it's the perception that relationships of production and exchange shouldn't be viewed as relationships among

people, but instead as transactional relationships among commodified, atomized agents.

It involves the reduction of all things, including people, into commodities that are intended for exchange.

When workers sell their labour on the market to an employer, they experience the commodification of labour.

Systemically, the social organization of labour (what good or service will be produced, who will produce it and how, etc.) is mediated through the market, by the buying and selling of commodities. As a consequence, social relations between people are perceived as social relations among objects.

Depending on the function of any given exchange, these objects acquire a form. If the function is to hire a new worker, then the object acquires the form of capital; just think of the term social capital - it means fans/audience, it means numbers of people 'invested', basically.

When these commodities are exchanged on the market, they appear separate from who produced them, and how or where they were produced, thus obscuring the true exploitative social relations of production behind them, see marxian alienation/entfremdung.

The form of commodity and the relation of value these products of labour acquire have nothing to do with the physical nature of the product, and the material relations arising out of this.

This fantastic form of relation between objects is therefore analogous to religion, because the products and very system appear as though they have an autonomous life of their own.

In this context, commodity fetishism is the idea that a commodity (product) has an inherent mystical or

magical essence, and by extension the real cost of labour that created the product remains hidden.

Therefore, commodity fetishism is attached to the products of labour as soon as they become commodities, but is inseparable from the production process. Commodity fetishism transforms economic value into intrinsic, or innate value.

Hence this fetishism refers to when an economic abstraction (value), is psychologically transformed (reified) into an object, which is then believed to have some intrinsic value.

For instance, the actual horrific way in which cheap clothes are produced for retailers like Zara is usually hidden from us. We don't realize the actual cost in child labour, environmental pollution, water consumption, etc., we only perceive the empowering 'say your name' campaign.

Furthermore, since most social relations are mediated with objects like commodities and money, they depend on the costs of production like the quantities of human labour.

At the same time, the worker has no control over what happens to the commodities that they produce, so they become alienated.

In our current times of late stage capitalism, the commodity itself has taken a whole new meaning. People can become commodities themselves, which is also part of the dehumanization, alienation and objectification processes.

The concept of alienation from the self is a consequence of being reduced to just a mechanistic part of production - a grim reality which estranges a person from their humanity.

When workers are deprived from directing their own actions, and from owning the value of the goods and

services their labour produces, they lose the ability to determine their life and destiny.

Although they're supposedly autonomous human beings, their entire existence is in truth directed as an economic entity, according to goals dictated by the bourgeoisie.

The main thing the bourgeoisie care about is to extract from workers the maximum amount of surplus value, in order to compete with their fellow capitalists and accumulate more wealth; thusly, capitalists are also alienated by capitalism.

Subsequently, the worker not only becomes alienated from the product of their labour, but also from their fellow workers.

They compete with each other for the same job, or for higher wages, and they end up alienated from the act of labour itself, since it's usually repetitive or even dangerous.

Capitalists argue that 'the market' is independent and apolitical, but this is far from the truth. The term political economy, for example, exists to help counter this attempt to frame markets and hence capitalism as apolitical.

In the course of buying and selling, people ascribe values to the commodities, which buyers and sellers then perceive as market-exchange prices. Even people become commodities, slavery is the commodification of human life, after all.

The true socio-economic conditions behind the buying and selling of commodities are obscured. Buyers, sellers, and producers can't do business without this obscurity - thus the necessity of character masks that obscure the economic motives.

Moreover, because of this masking, people can't perceive all the human labour required to produce these commodities, nor do they perceive the workers

themselves. They can't comprehend the actual human costs, they only understand the market interactions.

As an example, when say transportation workers or farmers are striking and road traffic is obstructed, most of us are mad at the workers and not at the capitalists who actually caused this. We only perceive market dynamics and personal irritation, not the people or systems behind them.

This human estrangement under capitalism is also relevant to the term 'false consciousness'.

This term was introduced by Friedrich Engels in 1893 and it describes how various processes, such as ideological & institutional ones, are used to mislead the public, and to conceal the intrinsic exploitation between classes.

It's 'false' because the subordinate class is pursuing goals that don't benefit it, and it's 'consciousness' because, in this context, it reflects the ability of the subordinate class to be conscious, meaning that it politically identifies and asserts its will.

When false consciousness is instilled into a person, they proceed to believe they share the same interests as the ruling class.

In other words, false consciousness is what Fox News and reactionary social media content creators feed upon, create, and promote. Instead of informing people about the oppressive nature of social relations under capitalism, they rather demonize and make fun of immigrants, sjws, feminists, etc.

Their problem isn't Elon Musk or Bloomberg, their problem is a working-class lgbtq+ minority fighting for survival and to put food on the table. As a result, the person is made to believe these minorities are their enemies, and that their class enemies don't exist.

This is relevant to what Noam Chomsky describes as the manufacturing of consent. That is to say, the

propagandizing of citizenry to justify wars or other atrocities, usually under the guise of 'bringing democracy', which maintains imperialist relations and exports misery.

The mainstream media and state apparatus are manufacturing the public's consent, and therefore a spectacle of foreign conflict is created and maintained.

More specifically, and according to Marxist theory, cultural hegemony is exerted by the ruling class to the lower class.

To adequately explain this, we have to define some terms first, like the base and the superstructure.

The base includes the forces & relations of production, such as property relations, laws that govern society, divisions of labour, etc. The superstructure includes institutions (educational, religious, etc.), political power structures, roles (especially traditional binary gender roles), rituals, and the State.

Through this superstructure, cultural hegemony is produced, and reproduced, by the dominant class.

Antonio Gramsci developed the aforementioned theory of cultural hegemony, which means the domination of society by the ruling class, through the manipulation of culture.

This is how the status quo is maintained as natural, as common sense, and the result is a perplexed and alienated individual who loses hope. Jordan Peterson perpetuates this notion by claiming it's ridiculous to think you can change the world, you simply aren't up to such a task.

The idea that the bourgeois establish and maintain control of society through hegemonic culture, and the further development and application of Marx's concepts of commodification and alienation, brings us to the 1967 book The Society of the Spectacle by Guy Debord.

The spectacle is a central notion in the Situationist worldview, which was developed by the Situationist International, a group of social revolutionaries from 1957 to 1972.

In this book, Debord presents and develops the concept of the Spectacle, critiques consumer culture and commodity fetishism, expands on class alienation, and also critiques mass media.

He argues that the authentic social life of the past has been replaced with a mere representation, and by extension, the commodity has now completely colonized it.

In addition, capitalism has entered near final stages many times, and its answer usually is the rise of fascism.

Many attempts to explain and offer a solution away from capitalism are historically somewhat similar in nature, they often try to explain why things are getting worse, and why things were 'better in the past'.

This notion helps fascism in that it mythologizes a mythic past, and things were never better for all of us, only for certain privileged groups who lose that privilege to equality.

Debord characterizes the Spectacle as the inverted image of society, in which relations among people have been replaced by relations among commodities.

Capitalism has spread itself to every aspect of life and culture, so the commodity form rules the workers and the consumers instead of empowering them, which is also why making yourself the commodity can seem empowering at times.

You make money out of yourself, nobody is appropriating your labour, you believe. You rule the commodity, even if it's yourself.

Just passively identifying with the spectacle replaces genuine activity, and people end up living in a never-ending present, Debord argues.

The spectacle prevents us from realizing that the society of the spectacle is only a single moment in time, a fragment of history, and that we can overturn it through revolution.

He advocates that we must wake up the spectator drugged by the spectacle, by a process he calls 'détournement', which involves using spectacular images and language to disrupt the flow of the spectacle; the movie: The Matrix makes similar points.

It's true that sometimes using spectacular tactics can indeed help with the realization of the spectacle, but others, it can capitulate to its culture.

When you're a part of the circus, it's difficult to discern whether the show must go on, or whether you need to disrupt it.

Debord also proposes the opposite of detournement, a process he calls recuperation, by which the spectacle intercepts radical ideas, commodifies them, and safely incorporates them back into society in a more safe, non-threatening to the status quo way - an apt thesis imo.

This process was also analyzed by Raoul Vaneigem in his 1967 book: The Revolution of Everyday Life.

He fundamentally stated that to reach 'freedom', individuals tend towards creating new roles that simply perpetuate the same old stereotyped conventions and cultures.

Slavoj Žižek says that when you buy something, like a Starbucks cup of coffee, you essentially buy into something bigger than just the commodity. You buy into an ideology and social conscience is included in the price. It's the ultimate form of consumerism - you can't escape from the commodity you buy.

He is not absolved from that either, as is none of us, but these notions about consumption are ideological too, and moreover, they're capitulating to stereotypes that reinforce capitalist hierarchical notions.

Claiming that the biases that affect the consumption of a commodity are inescapable is misinformed. For example, you can choose to buy a smaller car, it's way cheaper than a large truck, and in fact most people buy smaller cars.

Nobody ties you down, and forces you into buying a large truck. You have a choice, albeit a small one, but you still have it. There's always a choice.

Capitalist propaganda has made you believe that you can't choose practically anything, but we choose stuff every day.

We're not just a prey of our circumstances, relationships of exchange are not just mediated by commodities and money. These relationships are also relationships mediated by people and ideas.

This commodity fetishism, and the human estrangement of alienation, lead to the disempowerment of the individual, since they keep us wallowed in the notion that the reality of capitalism is basically inescapable. What's more capitalist serving than that?

They nullify any potential opposition beforehand, and sometimes prop up the justification of authoritarian attitudes. They make us believe that maybe a 'firm' approach could offer an escape from commodification and alienation.

Since capitalism has already removed any sort of individual choice, then what's the problem with Hitler or Stalin for a while? We need them in fact, democracy doesn't work, etc.

The spectacle is the capitalist propaganda, and it reproduces the same notions that have historically helped fascism's rise.

Capitalism recuperates revolutionary leftist action, and hierarchical structures tend to reproduce the same advocacy techniques, and attitudes.

Reactionary attitudes can't be use to subvert the spectacle, because they're a fundamental part of it. Being supposedly subversive of the spectacle, sometimes reinforces the spectacle.

The emergence of the 2015 outrage movements like 'The Last Jedi' reactionaries, and the large impact parasocial relationships made on culture have further demonstrated how the spectacle, recuperation, and commodification were sustained and reinforced because influencers were being edgy and reactionary.

It's a never-ending vicious cycle. This is how capitalism adapts, it never completely dismisses anything, but instead discusses it under the guise of freedom of speech while sustaining alienation though various means.

The one side of the debate becomes the 'edgy truth-tellers', and the others morph into the superficially woke capitalists, even if in reality, both sides are advocating for capitalism, and the reactionaries simply attack intersectionality and feminism.

Debord accurately stated that the spectacle is not a collection of images; rather, it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images. Many people now work exclusively on social media, for example, and social media are mostly mediated by images and ads.

Commodities replace human relations, seeking a profit becomes a religion, and fellow workers are further dehumanized and alienated.

Platforms like Facebook, Google, Twitter mediate the global flow of information, and we are exposed to them on a daily basis.

Images are bombarded into our psyche, propaganda by the ruling class is manufacturing our consent for imperialist wars and state violence, and we replace affection and the revolutionary spirit with the consumption of more and more commodities, like content.

Even tho global warming is happening, and we're alienated, capitalism is still given credence.

This breaking of our revolutionary spirit, this defeatism in fact, is accurately described by the term capitalist realism.

Capitalist realism can be loosely defined as the impression that capitalism is the only viable economic system, and as a result, there can be no possible alternative after it.

It was first and foremost an art movement, specifically Pop Art, and it used critical political themes. 'Demonstration for Capitalist Realism' was the title of an art exhibition in Düsseldorf, Germany, in 1963, that depicted consumer culture.

Michael Schudson proceeded to use the term in the 1980s to describe what was happening in the advertising industry. He made the point that this realism idealizes a consumption-based lifestyle, rather than one of social achievements.

This brought us to 2009 and the book Capitalist Realism by Mark Fisher. Fisher clearly maintains that capitalist realism and neoliberalism are two separate things that strengthen each other, and argues that most anti-capitalist movements, instead of ceasing to end capitalism, have been entirely morphed into weak attempts to just mitigate its worst effects (see neoliberal woke brand activism).

This analysis is spot on, but my criticisms lie on the double-edge of this Sword of Damocles. What's the functional difference of your advocacy capitulating to capitalist recuperation, and undermining it? It highly depends on the *type* of advocacy.

The line between pointing out a reality and reinforcing it is very thin when you use the same tactics as capitalists, and when intersectionality isn't strengthened.

Similar theories are used in reactionary/anti-sjw spaces as a justification for aggression and inaction.

Capitalism can't be escaped, and reinforcing the same classist/racist/sexist stereotypes is just how people talk, they claim.

'It is easier to imagine an end to the world than an end to capitalism', and this notion has an effect on people's mental health, Fisher argues.

In my view, when bigotry isn't addressed, capitalist realism simply pacifies opposition to neoliberalism, and therefore capitalism.

Since the primary point of contention is intersectionality, this attitude sometimes even helps fascism.

Capitalist realism is not a useful attitude; it's in fact destructive for the soul. Even if that wasn't the intention, the result is undeniable.

It simply reinforces the despair, disillusionment and alienation central to neoliberalism.

The problems of everyday life remain unaddressed so nothing ever changes, you just keep wallowing in realism.

Don't be a capitalist realist, be a revolutionary. Be a capitalist destroyer.

Anarchocommunism

Anarchocommunism

3| Race, Gender, and Intersectionality

When the pervasive atmosphere of defeatism and 'layers of irony' poison everything, some people end up justifying their counter-revolutionary attitude, and either end up a class reductionist, or they're neutralized into inaction.

It's true that for some marxists, historical materialism is race - and gender - blind, allowing a description of only class exploitation. These marxists are called class reductionists.

Leftism is an inherently intersectional worldview, and class reductionism is wildly inaccurate, since racial and gender inequality still persist among working class people.

On the other hand, we have some intersectional approaches that don't account for class, which are themselves also incapable of fully describing the origins of different oppressive systems.

They seem to just explain oppressive systems in really vague terms, implying they sprung from an unspecified set of 'privileges'. Both approaches are based on a simplistic understanding of marxism.

As Lise Vogel argued in her book Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory, capitalist accumulation presupposes the production and reproduction of the idea that not all people have the same advantageous capacity to do work, or labour-power.

The roots of gender oppression in the organization of this so-called labour-power, are first and foremost found in private households/domestic relationships, before and under capitalism.

Capital accumulation and automation propagate the mechanization of labour, and further sustain the low-wage industries that are extremely labour-intensive.

Furthermore, large capital has to remain competitive, so it keeps paying lower and lower wages, and at the same time intensifying labour conditions and job insecurity.

The only logical step capital can take in order to justify and organize labour, and competition, is to prop up the ideological notion that humanity is divided into distinct groups with unchangeable characteristics, i.e. gender and race, all unjustifiable hierarchism.

If all humans are supposed to be equal, inequality can only be explained by claiming some groups are inherently superior to others.

Under capitalism and its assumption of inherent, immutable, and unchanging essential human qualities, actual inequality has to be explained by notions such as race, or gender.

It's true that a form of proto-racism had emerged in the Iberian Peninsula and in the absolutist monarchies in Castile and Aragon, but with the emergence of African slavery, race was crystallized.

Slavery had existed for millennia, and it required particular justifications at times, but under capitalism, it became a huge business sprouting academic theories,

and entire countries' constitutions. Bigotry was ever present, and it became a huge business.

We can't overlook, nor deny, the fact that Black and Latino/x people are hugely over-represented in most labour-intensive jobs. Women and trans people tend to be disproportionately working class, as well.

At the same time, we shouldn't ignore the actuality that middle class and affluent people of colour still face racism and discrimination - this is a fact. As a result, we have to account for racial oppression, and specifically talk about the concept of whiteness.

Whiteness is what produces white privilege; it can be race, a culture, a source of systemic racism, & the reason behind many social phenomena generated by 'white society'.

Racism, and all forms of bigotry, are a systemic and an individual issue. Structural racism, and interpersonal racism, manifest institutionally. Hierarchical power structures are perpetuated by systems, institutions, society and individuals.

Capitalism and the state implant and sustain patriarchal biases so individuals hold hierarchical power notions of domination of human over human.

I distinguish racism, sexism, ableism, etc. between individual, a form of false consciousness, and social, an oppressive power structure.

Sometimes I just use the word sexism, or racism, ableism, etc., without adjectives to denote the fact that both forms manifest institutionally, to stress the fact that both are mostly enforced by patriarchal capitalism and the state, for shock value since they must be abolished, and for simplicity's sake.

Whiteness as a source of systemic racism oppresses people of colour and is deeply connected to anti-blackness.

Steve Garner describes whiteness as a set of norms, values, and cultural capital, focusing on notions of order, cleanliness, productivity, and respectability. He notes that whiteness has no stable consensual meaning, and that the meanings attached to race are always time - and place - specific, part of each national racial regime.

He also explains whiteness as contingent hierarchies, by exploring various 'in-between peoples', and provides the examples of 'white trash' discourse, and the whitening of Irish immigrants in the US.

Irish Catholics came to the US as an oppressed race, and they were disregarded together with Black and Chinese people. They were very much part of the same class, though, competing for the same jobs, but were allowed to marry and own property.

These hierarchies and how they manifest, produce, and perpetuate networks of white supremacy are also evident in Europe, and specifically Eastern Europe.

Paul Hanebrink posits that the links between whiteness and Christianity, in Poland and Hungary, have asserted themselves as 'Europe's last hope for survival' - the growing anti-Jewish sentiments in these countries are also indicative of this.

Furthermore, reinforced white hierarchies are apparent in the way in which many Europeans engage in white supremacy.

The racism against Bosnians, Roma people, Balkan Egyptians, Albanians of Kosovo are all representative examples of this fact.

As a result, it's reasonable to state that whiteness encompasses race, Christianity, culture, and history, and that it systematically oppressed, and continues to oppress people of colour.

The term POC is a term I don't like, but since alternatives are lacking, I'll continue to mention it when necessary.

Toni Morrison in Playing in the Dark notes that race has become a metaphor, a way of referring to forces, events, and forms of social decay, to economic division and human panic, and this is particularly the case in the US and Europe.

The truth is that there's no biological race as we understand it; it's just a social construct. Different races exist, but the associated genetic differences that do exist do not map onto socially recognized categories.

Moreover, racism is a learned behaviour. If the concept of race is introduced, and later cultivated, it leads to the creation of racial biases, and not the other way around.

Robin Diangelo argues that white people in North America live in a society that's deeply separate and unequal by race, and that they are the beneficiaries of that separation and inequality.

White people are insulated from racial stress, thus any attempt to discuss how whiteness is connected to that system of racism, is perceived as unsettling and unfair.

Discussing whiteness triggers defensive emotional responses, but we have to remember here that white fragility is not simply an individual problem - we're all socialized into this system. White supremacy/nationalism is systemic in the end.

Diangelo's book is part of corporate diversity training, but it makes good points. Personal reflections on our own racism, a more critical view of media and other aspects of culture, exposure to the perspectives of people of colour, and operational solidarity with leftists (even in disagreement) can help.

For these reasons, phrases like 'abolish whiteness' are fine, imo, since they usually mean the social construct of whiteness to be destroyed, not the white race, and white people.

The phrases 'abolish the white race', or 'white lives don't matter', shouldn't be used, though. These can be bigoted and their use should best be avoided, despite the systemic lack of ability to act upon them, because they can be alienating.

White supremacy and white nationalism are functionally very similar, and are characteristics of many right-wing ideologies, especially nazism, and fascism. These ideologies are anti-intersectional and highly authoritarian.

Intersectionality is a framework for conceptualizing a person, group of people, or social problem, as affected by a number of discriminations and disadvantages, but also privileges. It's a field of critical theory.

Critical theory provides a specific interpretation of Marxist philosophy with regards to some of its central economic and political notions like commodification, reification, fetishization and critique of mass culture, and it was developed by the Frankfurt School in the 1930's.

Intersectional theories, like critical race theory, gender & women's studies, etc., take into account people's overlapping identities and experiences in order to understand the complexity of oppression they face, or oppression from which they benefit. They also highly relate to queer theory.

The term Queer theory emerged in the early 1990's. It follows the work of Michel Foucault, and is heavily influenced by Judith Butler, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Adrienne Rich, and Diana Fuss.

Michael Warner defines queerness as the resistance to regimes of the normal. Queer Nation/San Francisco activist Karl Knapper states that: "Queerness is about acknowledging and celebrating difference, embracing what sets you apart. A straight person can't be gay, but a straight person can be queer."

It's mostly derived from post-structuralist theory, specifically deconstruction, and it expands gay/lesbian studies' focus on natural and constructed behaviour.

It encompasses any kind of sexual activity or identity, and claims that people shouldn't be divided into normal and abnormal/deviant, categories - abnormal in this context means the relationships between people of the same gender.

Queer theory claims that gender and sexuality are socially constructed, and debunks common misconceptions associated with them.

Sexuality and gender are not binary, instead, they both exist on a spectrum. Individual sexuality is fluid, fragmented, and dynamic. It's a collectivity of sexualities that may vary at different points during a person's life.

Queer theory's goal is to deconstruct all existing social norms, and investigate why and how they came into being. These norms are rigid, and don't sufficiently explain differences in conditions, attitudes, and behaviours of a person's experiences.

Moreover, Queer is an umbrella term for those not only deemed sexually deviant, but also those who feel marginalized as a result of social practices.

There are multiple facets of oppression and privilege; race, class, and gender are interconnected. This theory of interconnectivity is called the matrix of domination or oppression. Patricia Hill Collins is credited with introducing it, and Kimberly Crenshaw expanded it.

According to queer theory, romantic, sexual, and gender identities are neither static nor dichotomous. As a result, it argues that labels are obsolete. Identities can't be fully categorized or labelled, because they consist of so many different components, so categorization by one characteristic is simply inadequate, and incomplete.

It's important to note here that queer theory mostly attempts to maintain a critique, more than define a specific identity.

Queer used to be a slang word for gay people and was used for homophobic abuse, but the word has been recently reclaimed, and it's now being used as an umbrella term for several marginalized existences.

In addition, queer theory seeks to dismantle the idea of heteronormativity, and since black feminist thought was the basis of it, it not only recognizes, but also breaks down, identities in relation to factors like race, class, religion, etc.

It focuses on problems in classifying individuals as either male or female, even on a strictly biological basis, and challenges the ongoing consolidation of cisnormative, heterosexual, and able-bodied hegemony.

Critical theories flourished in the 80's, and queer theory became concerned with the material effects of AIDS. It also critiqued modern-day neoliberal queer politics. It argued that lack of recognition of other forms of oppression can result in many queer people not being supported, or acknowledged by politics.

As an example, the majority of 'queers' are people of colour, women, &/or working class, and sometimes LGBTQ+ anti-hate legislation still marginalizes, and represses other minorities; see Israel's oppression of Palestinians.

The subjects of queer theory are diverse, and include women. One major overlap of queer theory with feminist theory is due to Judith Butler's Gender Performativity Theory.

In her essay Performative Acts and Gender Constitution, Judith Butler proposes that gender is performative, and distinguishes between sex as biological facticity, and gender as the cultural interpretation or signification of that facticity.

Butler argues that gender is best perceived as performative, and it has a social audience. The performances of woman and man (and everyone outside this binary) are compelled and enforced by historical social practices.

According to Butler's theory, gender is essentially a performative repetition of acts associated with male or female. She argues that being born with certain genitals doesn't determine behaviour. Instead, people learn to behave in particular ways to fit into society.

Due to the fact that gender is an act, a performance, and is socially constructed, Butler argues that the performance of gender itself creates gender.

Additionally, she compares the performativity of gender to the performance of theatre, and also criticizes Freud.

The title of her 1990 book: Gender Trouble alludes to the 1974 John Waters film 'Female Trouble'. In it, Butler claims that radical feminists shouldn't try to define 'woman', and proposes the breaking of the links between sex and gender.

She also criticizes Catharine MacKinnon's arguments against pornography for its unquestioning acceptance of the state's power to censor.

She wrote: "The effort to identify the enemy as singular in form is a reverse-discourse that uncritically mimics the strategy of the oppressor instead of offering a different set of terms."

The synergy of critical theories and feminism has successfully analysed power imbalances and the resulting oppression in social structures. Intersectional feminism is a primary characteristic of most left-wing ideologies.

Many revolutionary movements have been feminist, like the *mujeres libres*. Marxist and Anarchist ideologies have analysed similar issues, as well.

Anarcha-feminism, for example, is an ideology that combines anarchism with feminism, and advocates that patriarchy and gender roles are unjust hierarchies that should be replaced by decentralized free associations.

It supports the view that the struggle against patriarchy is both an essential part of the Marxist class conflict, and the anarchist struggle against the state and capitalism.

In essence, this philosophy sees feminist struggle as a necessary component of anarchist and marxist struggle, and vice-versa.

Historically, its roots can be traced to Mikhail Bakunin, who opposed patriarchy and the way the law and other institutions subjected women to the absolute domination of men.

The movement's actual founder though was Emma Goldman, and later feminists around the world like Voltairine de Cleyre, Lucy Parsons, the Spanish group Mujeres Libres, and the Stirnerist Nietzschean feminist Federica Montseny expanded it.

In China, for instance, in 1907, anarchist He Zhen argued that without women's liberation, society could not be liberated, and that in order to liberate women from their subjugation, the capitalist system must be broken and a communal system must be established.

In 1975, Peggy Kornegger posited that anarchism stands for three things. The first is the belief in the abolition of authority, hierarchy, and government.

The second is the belief in both individuality and collectivity at the same time. The third is the belief in both spontaneity and organization - revolution and evolution, i.e. continued reform.

She argued that abolishing hierarchy and domination is the connection between feminism and anarchism, and stated that feminism connects anarchism to the future.

L. Susan Brown argues that anarchism is inherently feminist, and it even goes beyond feminism in its fundamental opposition to all forms of unjust power, hierarchy, and domination. Anarchism contains and transcends feminism in its critique of power, she notes.

Intersectional anarchist and socialist approaches have provided important critiques of power, and explain power structures more accurately than class reductionist analyses.

At the Combahee River Collective, for example, black feminists examined their double oppression of being black, and of being women.

Oppression rarely stands alone; oppressive power structures reinforce, strengthen, and support each other systemically, as dual power systems like direct action and mutual aid do, but with the exclusionary aims of capital accumulation.

Capitalist and patriarchal hierarchies intersect in complex ways and are not easily separable. People don't exist as 'women', 'men', 'white', 'working class', etc. in a vacuum.

Intersectional theories are great tools in order to understand who our allies truly are - most right wingers, for example, tend to be anti-feminist.

It's true that intersectionality is often misunderstood as simply an ideology that seeks to invert the social hierarchy in order to achieve equality.

This misses the crucial aspect of intersectional theory, which seeks first and foremost to abolish unjust hierarchies and inequalities; not to merely turn them on their head.

Furthermore, this is often used by critics to write Intersectionality off as divisive, when in reality they are writing off a misunderstanding of what it is; a diverse tool.

Intersectionality includes the notion that systems cannot be properly critiqued by those benefiting from them, and the fact that patriarchal gender roles intersect with capitalist classes.

Men usually worked outside of the home and experienced class oppression. Women were confined in the house and experienced patriarchal oppression, while frequently also experiencing class oppression.

Women are disproportionately poorer than men, with women of colour being poorer still, and men are also oppressed by patriarchy, see traditional gender roles like the stoic male, the warrior role, the family provider role, etc.

Capitalism is undoubtedly a form of oppression, and ideologies like anarcha-feminism that oppose patriarchal modes of oppression, staunchly oppose capitalism too.

The unified movement I envision necessarily challenges all possible forms of oppression, such as the state, caste, class, gender, race, homophobia, etc.

It's an all-encompassing, anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist, anti-oppressive philosophy, with the ultimate goal of creating an equal ground between all genders and races, and moving beyond all classes. These are the goals of anarcho-communism.

Anarchist communism is the practical opposition to domination and unjust hierarchies.

It's a form of anarchism that advocates the abolition of capitalism in favour of horizontal networks of decentralized, voluntary (& explicitly anti-racist, anti-sexist, etc.) communal associations based on shared need.

It's the way in which everyone is free, and its goal is the goal of communism - a stateless, classless, moneyless society.

4| Class, and the State Ownership of the means of production

In this chapter I use the word state to denote a structure that nationalizes/socializes the means of production and distributes them to the populace.

This is done in order to provide a basis of marxist class analysis so I can synthesize my anarchocommunist class analysis.

The state I mention should best be conceived as a democratic confederation of councils, like workers' and consumers', comprised by directly and democratically elected representatives that are swiftly recallable by the people, but I will analyse this further in later chapters.

The term state is to be taken with a grain of salt, since it and capitalism assign and keep people to classes.

The two main classes according to Marxist theory are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The bourgeoisie own the means of production, and the much larger

proletariat, or working class, sell their labour power to the bourgeoisie - this is called wage labour.

There have been further gradations of these two broad classes. These include the lumpen proletariat, like criminals and unemployed, the petite bourgeoisie, the landowners, the peasants, and the labour aristocracy of high-salary workers.

In general, the small employers are part of the petite bourgeoisie, as are the semi-autonomous wage earners of the proletariat. Managers are similarly between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, according to their autonomy, salary and wealth.

Contradictory class locations are relevant under late-stage capitalism, but due to state policies like taxation and wealth redistribution, and the vast class-wide economic oppression under capitalism, the above class distinctions/lines are more blurred in my theory.

In my analysis, classes are defined similarly but there are some important distinctions depended mostly on two factors. The amount of wealth and income an individual owns, and their place in the production process.

If an individual, for example, owns a small amount of capital/means of production that generate a small to medium income, and/or they engage in labour exploited by capitalists or the state, they are part of the working class.

Capital is financial and physical, it is the means of production but is also cash, savings, liquid assets, etc. Wealth is the accumulation of valuable possessions, like money, property, etc. The means of production are capital, and both are accumulated into wealth.

The means of production include factories, land and houses, equipment, products, raw materials, etc.

The means of production also sometimes include equipment used for self-employment, and ownership

over vast sums of financial capital certainly qualifies one as capitalist, whether one owns any factories or not.

To further clarify, if we deduce individual/private property to mean the house that you live in, your toothbrush, your car, and similar, then it is personal property. On the other hand, private property generates profit and income.

The proletariat, or working class, produce goods and services and are remunerated with a salary, or they own a small amount of means of production that generate income.

Small and medium business owners can be thought of as working class in terms of conditional analysis under late-stage capitalism if their wealth and income doesn't exclude them from the middle class.

These self-employed workers/producers operate under neoliberal capitalism, and are therefore exploited.

Medium business owners are kept in a forced competition mindset, in a perpetual growth mindset, and a price-matching race with their oligopolistic competitors.

This need for perpetual growth is one major reason why capitalism is unsustainable at the core, and results in a 'repeated mowing down of small enterprise', to borrow a phrase from Rosa Luxemburg.

Exorbitant taxation by the state, and the cost of labour are very much inhibiting factors for many small and medium business owners.

The vast number of them should be viewed as workers in leftist analysis since they work long hours, are exploited by capitalism and by unfavourable state policies, and going out of business, or sustaining it under circumstances like the covid-19 pandemic, can be devastating for them.

The working class, the peasantry, and the unemployed are the lower classes of society, but

because their goals and the oppression they face are more similar than different, and because the working class, i.e. wage labourers, are the more plentiful among them, I call the entire lower stratum of society workers.

In addition to this, commodity production is done by large enterprises and by smaller businesses, and the value and price of a commodity aren't dependent only on how much work someone performs, i.e. on the cost of the wage labour it requires.

Some raw materials, for example, are more valuable than others mostly due to scarcity.

As another example, capitalists subtract the cost of labour from the price of the commodity, but their profit margin (often also due to subsidies for 'job creation') is very high, and the cost of wages they pay is low.

There are also significant differences in material conditions among different countries in regards to who exactly is part of the medium class.

A medium income in China is considered a low income in the US, and an upper medium income in the US is considered upper class in Greece, for instance. Don't forget that income can accumulate into wealth, same is the case for the means of production.

We should, as a result, find pragmatic, acceptable limits to income, means of production and wealth, even by inheritance, and we can differentiate personal property from private property.

The amount of means of production and wealth someone owns are basically what's important here, and the amount of income the ownership of means of production generates.

For example, a small individual landlord who owns and rents a couple of houses, and uses that generated income to survive, isn't the same as someone who owns 55 properties. They don't earn the same income.

Small individual landlords aren't the whole problem; real estate agencies and property hoarders are, as are the systems of literal and figurative economic rent and profit extraction under which even individual landlords operate.

Some small individual landlords are an issue, but since they operate under capitalism, I can see their incentives, but not sympathize.

The problem with landlords is systemic, and just simply attacking the individual landlord won't help. We mostly have to encourage renter's unions, and general strikes.

Further to that, building solidarity with fellow workers requires finding common ground between people that face seemingly different issues, and counteracting the division alienation creates between the middle and the working class.

Abolishing capitalism requires broad universal support, and for this to happen, building class consciousness *and* solidarity are essential.

There are important lines separating the lower and middle classes, but there's a by far bigger line separating the medium/working class, and the upper class. And that is Wealth. Acknowledging that fact is how we build class consciousness.

This is the major line between us and them, the amount of wealth they own. The amount of money workers and capitalists have available for purchasing goods and services is vastly different.

Even in a different country the billionaire is still a billionaire, and the worker, the lower class, is still a worker. The first goes on space rides, the second is oppressed.

The main problem is the 0.01 percent of wealth hoarders, and to a lesser, but significant, extent the 0.1

percent who are also the owners of large amounts of capital, income and wealth.

Don't over focus on the 1%, we can discuss this further when income inequality, and other systemic injustices, have been mostly addressed.

The goal is for ALL of us to live comfortably, even the capitalists. The objective isn't the punishment through the distribution of wealth, but the achievement of equality.

In the US, inequality scholars Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman found that the top 0.01 percent controlled 22 percent of all wealth in 2012.

More recently, in 2017, an Oxfam study found that only EIGHT people, six of them Americans, own as much combined wealth as half the human race. This is outrageous.

In addition, the top 0.1% own about as much wealth as the bottom 90%. The top 0.1 percent is fewer than 200,000 families, and the bottom 90 percent is about 110 million households.

These two groups, the 0.01% and the 0.1%, are the people whose wealth should be appropriated at first so the main inequalities can be addressed. Then we should continue with the distribution of the wealth of the 1%, until wealth and income equality are fully achieved for all.

The capitalists are those who own large amounts of wealth, capital and means of production, and appropriate the surplus value produced by the worker to generate profits.

The rest of us are mostly workers, and by workers I mean those who labour to survive.

Even if some generate profit and income, from a small amount of capital they own, or from the labour of others, state oppression and capitalism don't allow them to rise a class.

Taxation and the cost of utilities for their shops, for example, reduces their income to such a degree that forces them to move to the upper middle class, at most. They can never actually rise above it.

The workers are those who have laboured or labour still in any profession, and their income or wealth isn't sufficient to make them live with dignity.

Workers are the pensioners and the unemployed because they have all laboured under capitalism.

Workers are the homeless too because they ask for change. This is a form of labour. They try to earn an income in order to survive.

The industrial worker labours and so does the office worker, the physical effort and income are different, but they both toil for their means of subsistence.

The writer produces more than the pensioner, but they both need a house. We all labour for the capitalists, but they are the ones who reap the most benefits.

I call most of us workers, even if some don't work by conventional standards, because workers are the backbone of the economy, they're the most plentiful among the lower and middle classes, and uniting the majority will bring broad societal appeal.

This is a numbers game. Historically, vast numbers are the main source of the lower class' power, and its ability to enact systemic change.

Theoretically, some sort of tyranny could arise, but if we keep democracy to high esteem, and discuss with each other, especially while taking other systemic inequalities such as race, gender, etc., into account, there's the highest chance for collective, and individual, happiness.

The first step towards that happiness is the achievement of equality by mostly striving for wealth, and subsequently, income equality.

The state uses taxation to subjugate the medium class at times, it's true. This is why we must initially tax the billionaires. Taxing higher incomes is important, but the first step is taxing wealth.

If we can move past our initial differences, and unite, we will see the oppression the capitalist system inflicts on others. It's reductive to say that we judge other people only according to our own experiences, but it has a smidge of truth.

Not all of us face the same class, gender or race inequality, though. Only by taking into account everyone's oppression, while realising that addressing class inequality is the force that will bring us one step closer to our common goal, we will succeed.

Class inequality, and class oppression, will be mostly realised by building class consciousness and solidarity with the people we have the most in common.

The interests, goals and aspirations of the working class, and marginalized people, have a much bigger overlap than capitalist propaganda has made us believe.

We all struggle, but the capitalists, the capital/wealth hoarders that is, aren't fighting for survival, the lower classes do. Whether they're oppressed because of gender or race the lower classes simply don't have the amount of money the upper classes have.

The upper class, the rich, own larger amounts of wealth, and therefore more means to achieve a more fulfilled existence. Their wealth needs to be expropriated and redistributed to the rest of us, in other words we need to tax the rich.

Taxation of the upper class could take the form of wealth, capital and means expropriation. The confiscated capital should be used for public benefit.

If the means of production a person or a company own don't constitute personal property, and constitute private property that isn't used for self-employment that

generates a lower/medium income, then these means should be confiscated by the state.

The state should substitute the role of the employer and operate these productive means, provided a reformation in labour relations, organizational structures and eventually for-profit production takes place, like democratic worker's councils.

If a capitalist who makes shoes owes a large amount of taxes to the state, we should confiscate the factory, and have the state operate it, make the shoes, hire public workers, etc.

If a person or a company own a large amount of land and/or houses, the state should expropriate them and redistribute them directly to people, through government policies like free public housing.

If a capitalist owns means of production that don't produce vital goods and services, like laser discs or telegraphs for example, the state should expropriate them, and repurpose to another sector, and if not able to do so, destroy them.

The state should not sell means of production to another capitalist, because this just substitutes one exploiter for another.

If the large amounts of wealth or capital are purely financial, like bank savings, bonds, stocks, etc., they should be fully expropriated, and redistributed or held, even if they doesn't generate profit. For example, stocks should be confiscated and held by the state, not resold.

Large bank savings should be given to the public with direct payments, or held in order to be used for public benefit, like paying public workers.

Income accumulates into wealth so it should be taxed, too. We can find acceptable tax limits of wealth and income that are fair, and don't perpetuate oppression.

The current mode of taxation is unfair. The highest incomes aren't adequately taxed, and medium incomes are over taxed.

Pragmatic limits of wealth, and income, should distinguish class lines, and as we've seen that also heavily relies on the economic situation of the country you reside in, but nevertheless, the top 0.01 percent of wealth owners are leading a different life.

The ownership of large amounts of wealth and capital are the first things that need addressing.

A factory owner oppresses people through wage labour, and at the same time, a rich trust fund individual is much more privileged than a homeless person, not to mention that their wealth usually comes from prior exploitation.

And even then, our goal isn't retribution but redistribution. They can have a nice house, vacations, cool gadgets, etc., we all want that too, but they can't possibly be allowed to own 55 properties while a single mother works two jobs. Let alone should we allow 8 people to hoard most of the productive resources.

Capitalism exploits the workers, but so does the state. The income it provides to the unemployed or the disabled is very low, for example.

The protections and support it offers to the middle and the working class are miniscule, just look at the laws of mass layoffs, or the lack of support for medium agricultural producers after a flood or a fire.

The state and capitalism are both dividing and keeping people into classes. The medium and lower classes are unprotected and attacked by both of them, and the upper class, the capitalists, are protected and encouraged.

So let's unite under one class, the workers, and engage in class struggle against the capitalists and the state.

Marx made many wonderful contributions to leftist theory, but patriarchal oppression is an undeniable fact, so let's put Marx under the spotlight a bit.

Marx himself has pointed out that women's position in society, reflects this society's level of development, but he wrote theory in the 1800s, and society was different back then.

As a result, we can't judge him, and most past theorists in fact, according to today's standards, but we can take a situated approach to understanding without engaging in apologia.

We must be careful to not to be reductive to merely economic class issues while racism, sexism, transphobia and other forms of false consciousness, and oppression, exist.

In addition, Marx's analysis about the value of labour is accurate but over focusing on it can act as a barrier to entry and increase alienation.

It can also encourage the creation of reactionary sentiments, but reactionaries have been cloaking their ideology in economic language seemingly forever, so refuting capitalist arguments is vital.

When you over focus on the value of someone's labour, since leftists already know that all labour is undervalued, you end up comparing the value of people in general.

You're in essence comparing the labour power/ability of people, and accepting that they should in fact compete with each other.

Not all people have the same capacity for labour, especially disabled people, and competition under capitalism usually leads to intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts.

Let me offer an example, if you're a currently unemployed worker, or your job is threatened, since capitalism is inevitable and can't be changed (a

defeatist interpretation of the theory of capitalist realism), you fall victim to emotions of jealousy, and this 'negative solidarity' head space and alienation feed on resentment, and act as a vehicle for reactionary rhetoric.

You need to find an individualistic reason for justifying capitalism's unfairness, since competition in this jungle is normal.

You think that maybe it's the particular manager's fault, or the particular colleague's fault. Maybe it's because they're a woman, or maybe it's because immigrants cost less, maybe it's because they're lazy. You're better than them, you really need the job, your kids need dentures, etc.

And when a fascist comes along, all their criticisms start to make sense if you accept their premises.

So let's instead talk about exploitation, because this is the inherent nature of the system. It exploits *all* of us, and it was built this way since its inception.

Furthermore, the State incentivizes this process, and its oppression thrives in this environment.

Hegemonic propaganda makes us wonder why our neighbours receive benefits and not us. "Why is our miniscule wealth consisting of a house, a business, or a car taxed so exorbitantly while our neighbours are getting free stuff all the time?". Material analysis has given us the tools to combat this, however.

Primitive accumulation led to capital accumulation, and capitalism is not in the labourer's self-interests.

Humans are innately creative, and there are alternatives to the dichotomy of 'it's either capitalism or Stalin that can lead to a stateless, classless, moneyless society that works for everyone and doesn't mercilessly strip nature.

Capitalism exploits everyone, and it & its agent the State, just throw crumbs at people.

Don't forget that by adequately taxing Jeff Bezos, the US state can help with world hunger, so it's not a point of a lack of resources, but of a lack of will.

They're simply capitalists, and capitalism is the scourge on this earth. The financial crises they manufacture alone are destructive to the economies of entire countries.

Rightwingers even pave the way for more extensive and more destructive crises by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

In addition, as we've seen class distinctions under late stage capitalism are not so clear-cut. They depend on the place an individual occupies in the production process, but also on the amount of means of production/capital they own.

The value of someone's labour depends on labour power and on the value of labour as a commodity, but we shouldn't forget the undeniable truth that labour involves suffering under capitalism.

All labourers need their means of subsistence met, like food, healthcare and housing, in order to perform labour, and the notion of socially necessary labour should be informed by that fact.

The labour hours the production of a commodity requires are currently the hours of human suffering involved in the production of it.

Moreover, a small amount of private property that generates a middle class income isn't the same as owning a factory.

The amount of income, of money, the lower and middle classes have available for survival isn't comparable to the amount the highest class has.

Therefore, the leading question in the anti-capitalist movement shouldn't just be the property question, it should be the exploitation/oppression question. The

point isn't to measure whose oppression is worse, the point is that we all experience it.

So, I would reconstruct Marx's words by saying that Communists everywhere should support every leftist revolutionary movement, and know that peaceful revolutions are possible.

Socialists labour everywhere for the union and agreement of leftist parties in all countries, but vote for the most anarchist-communist one available. The aim is clear, though; the reformations should be done for the interests of the working class and marginalized people.

The revolution, and not the reformation, is the objective though, and this *will* come to pass if we support consensus through direct democracy.

People of all countries, unite! We have nothing to lose but our chains.

Marx changed the world with his materialist conception of history. Many right-wingers, and even some 'communists' of sorts, have misinterpreted his words.

This fostered the relationship between some interpretations of Marx and Fascism that mostly fuel the opposition to democracy.

Anarchocommunism

5| Neofascism

Fascism has differing definitions, including: “An authoritarian and totalitarian system of government marked by centralization of authority under a dictator, violent suppression of the opposition, and typically a policy of belligerent nationalism and racism”.

A form of far-right authoritarian ultranationalism, fascist movements oppose democracy, communism, socialism and anarchism.

Donald Trump and most of his financial supporters, for example, are right-wing populists and white nationalists, which are inextricably linked with capitalism, and of course fascism.

The Bulgarian communist, and General Secretary of the Communist International, Georgi Dimitrov’s famous description of fascism (1935) is really apt here: “Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.”

Mussolini and his Fascist party, the National Socialist party of Germany, Franco’s Spain, the clerical fascism of Romania under the Iron Guard and Ion Antonescu, the

various governments of Hungary in the 1930s, and Enver Hoxha's Albania are all examples of fascism.

Fascism and near-fascist movements have evolved, and some, like right-wing populism, sometimes sound oppositional to capitalist policies.

Many even argue that opposing them is the true fascism, see how Trump claimed the US was under siege from 'far-left fascism'.

In addition, and ironically enough, red fascism is a thing, and it usually deals in Stalin apologia, especially of the sexist &/or racist kind.

The conflation of antisemitic nationalism and 'Third Way' movements for Socialism goes back to the revisionist George Sorel, who notably influenced Mussolini and the Nazis with his support for 'national class collaboration'.

The results of Stalin's 'Socialism in one country' are, for many, at the very least, closely analogous.

Stalin essentially accused anyone who disagreed with his party line of social fascism, and executed them, or sent them to the gulags.

Stalin also described fascism and social democracy as 'twin brothers', to which Trotsky said that only a fighting unity with the Social Democratic workers can bring victory, even tho Trotsky believed that siding with the Social Democratic parties was a temporary alliance.

If the ideology seeks to justify violent suppression under a 'good excuse', then it's not really different from violent suppression for a 'bad excuse'.

In both cases people suffer and die for the 'national interest', and usually the national/cultural past narrative provides the rationalization for it.

Military nationalism, is a common worldview shared by many fascists, regardless of how they identify.

The resurgence of populism facilitated a resurgence of this new type of fascism, especially given capital's influence over the window of public discourse.

Most populists use reactionary, and bigoted, rhetoric frequently. The word reactionary has negative connotations since the reaction is primarily associated with opposing improvement of the living conditions of all people, such as minorities, and not with the reaction to a backwards regime.

Things are better for more people nowadays, than they were 100 years ago - this progress is the one reactionaries oppose.

Hammerquist saw the danger of this new fascism that is more independent than the classical 'euro-fascism' of the 1920s, 30s, and 40s, and is seemingly more opposed to capitalism.

The fact that this neo fascism disconcertingly comes with mass support, especially through commodified social media, further highlights its connection to populism, and most importantly, the problematic nature of populism itself.

Populism refers to a range of political ideologies that emphasize the idea of 'the people' and often contrasts this group to 'the elite'. The elite and the people are nebulous concepts in populism - they're inconsistently and very broadly defined.

Populism, for me, is the ideology that uses language friendly to the populace to pass policies unfriendly to the populace.

It's called Λαϊκισμός/Laikismos in Greek, and it can be supposedly separated into right-wing populism and left-wing populism.

The difference being that the right ones are fascists, and the left ones are 'communists', apparently, even though many of them are class reductionists, i.e. blind to race and gender oppression.

The reactionary nature of left-wing populism is also evident from the aggressive individualist othering and division native in its advocacy, and the fact that the desire for the engagement of the population in political decision making only goes as far as social democracy.

Left populism belongs on the right because the existing power structures are never actually abolished, like sexism and racism, and it often reinforces capitalist realism, and therefore neoliberalism.

Right populism is more hierarchical, and it historically coincides with white nationalism, xenophobia, and fascism. Right-wing populism is closely tied to violent rhetoric, as well.

Funnily enough, many populists are supportive of, or seek to platform for 'engagement', authoritarian or reactionary ideas and opinions.

Populists tend to be very reactionary and not very intersectional, and Poe's law seems pretty relevant here.

You can't possibly create a parody of extreme views so obviously exaggerated that it can't be mistaken by some people as sincere. When some 'leftists' make fun of righties all day long, at some point they just end up reproducing their ideas.

Toxic online culture, (I'll refrain from using the word incel because despite its negative connotations, many people are some form of involuntary or voluntary celibates), like the one present in 4chan, is the epitome of this paradigm.

This culture, and its war, has slipped into everything, including in leftist content, due to commodification and alienation.

For Hamerquist, fascism can be influenced by the bourgeoisie, but it's ultimately independent of it. Neofascism and populism may sound opposed to the bourgeoisie, and even call them establishment/elites/status quo, but both ultimately

support policies benefiting the same power structures, wittingly or unwittingly.

Hamerquist argued that fascism is a form of populist right-wing attempt at revolution, which is true; see the Capitol Hill insurrection, and how it was handled by the Imperialist Capitalist US State.

The purpose of fascist revolution is to turn back the social clock (usually to a glorified mythic past), or break it outright.

Fed by the bourgeois, and fertilized by the lower stratum of society due to its oppression, neo fascism has evolved into a catch-all political ideology of 'us vs them', with 'them' usually being foreigners, women, satanic elites, socialists, etc.

The populist nature of neo fascism is why it gained so much prominence, and it perplexed me immensely. It sounds popular-serving, but it's not.

Neofascism can basically be applied to everything, and every single ideology can find some sort of solace in its delusion of necessity.

It just prepares the popular conscience for the inevitable aggressive war against an enemy, as Hamerquist puts it, whoever the enemy may be - its similarities to Nazism are also really apparent.

Differences between modern forms (neofascism) and past forms are largely technological, but the modern versions seem to have realized that past fascism failed, and so they seek somewhat ironically international movements of bourgeois and labour. They focus on anti-government rhetoric while usually abusing the power of the state.

Zak Cope in 2015 said: "Geographically speaking, on its own soil, fascism is imperialist repression turned inward".

Fascists tend to make false equivalences between oppressive ideologies and liberatory ones born as a

reaction to oppression, like how they claim Black Nationalism is the same as White Nationalism.

Similarly, one can support the oppressed peoples of North Korea without necessarily embracing Juche, but to compare Juche to 'White Nationalism' is at the very least dishonest.

A reactionary ideology of the oppressed can't be equated to a reactionary ideology of the oppressors, even when the oppressors are people oppressed by patriarchal capitalism themselves; their ideology comes from the capitalist class and their think tanks.

Conspiracy theories are also rampant among these circles, and as we've seen, they're not just associated with anti-leftism - Qanon is a good example of this, see that they called for the hanging of Mike Pence, the extremely conservative Vice President.

Hell, even Tucker Carlson's speech sounds leftist at times, and as one guest that never aired pointed out, Tucker Carlson pretends to rail against the elite while he is a millionaire funded by billionaires.

Fascism is traditionally characterized by sexism, racism, colonialism, imperialism, anti-blackness, white supremacy, and capitalism.

Modes of oppression and domination typically arise from collective and individual differences, and they result in attempts to maximize and maintain those power differentials.

Being privileged is having an advantageous spot on a 'natural' hierarchy that you desperately want to preserve. Most fascist ideologies are rife with sexism, and sexism as a form of oppression predates the creation of race. Women's oppression is the first form of class oppression, argued Engels.

Fascists are sexists, racists, and ableists. They tend to be staunchly anti-feminist, and reinforce traditional

gender roles. Bigotry is the basis of fascism, and capitalism creates in parallel and exacerbates fascism.

Fascism is rooted in authoritarianism and totalitarianism, but also in unjust hierarchies and bigotry. This is why it's so compatible with capitalism.

Capitalism is hierarchical and it intersects with the patriarchy, creating interlocking systems of oppression. This nature of patriarchal capitalism is why when big business is propagating right-wing ideologies, they often use leftist language.

They need to sound oppositional to oppression, and supportive of freedom. Your workers and consumers must feel somewhat safe and free in order to keep working and consuming. Women make half of the consumer demographic, after all.

State capitalism, and red fascism, similarly propagandize leftist aesthetics to gain legitimacy and pacify opposition.

We see this fascism dressed in red up when we observe debates between marxist leninists and the far-right, and in general between authoritarian leftists and authoritarian rightists.

They tend to agree a lot on notions like patriotism, nationalism, the dismissal of intersectionality, or the bashing of anarchists. Many are functionally indistinguishable from each other in most forms of advocacy.

The misinterpretation of Marx's and Engels' work seems to be a key point in their bullsh*t, and failing that, Lenin's and Stalin's policies are the crux of their arguments, so let's debunk them.

Anarchocommunism

6| Marxism-Leninism

Most marxists-leninists (though we may dispense with the hyphen) are functionally Stalinists. They justify the dictatorship of Stalin, and the plans he enacted to rapidly industrialize the Soviet Union that caused severe loss of life.

MLs are generally referred to as 'tankies', though the meaning has morphed from its original usage. Marxism Leninism was the official state ideology of the Soviet Union, of the Eastern Bloc, and of the political parties of the Communist International after Bolshevization.

The ideology of Marxism Leninism, i.e. Stalinism, was developed by Joseph Stalin, and was based initially on Vladimir Lenin's writings. Leninism is Lenin's theory on the organisation of the revolution. This is why I'm going to analyse and criticize some of Lenin's work here.

Firstly, let us recognize Lenin's contributions to theory. I mostly agree with Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism.

Capitalism has transformed into monopoly capitalism, and it further exports finance capital, not just products - even entire factories have been outsourced. Capitalist institutions and colonial countries have indeed divided

the earth into the 'third world' and the 'first world'. The result is capitalism becoming a stage of imperialism.

I agree with his arguments about monopolies, neo-colonialism, imperialism, the problematic nature and inevitable results of 'free markets' / 'free competition', the wars capitalism wages for profit, and the decaying phase capitalism has already entered.

When it comes to his book The State and Revolution, he gives his own interpretations of the works of Engels and Marx, and he basically justifies the violent suppression of dissidents, but let's be more specific.

In the 4th part of the first chapter Lenin writes that Engels speaks of democracy 'dying down of itself', or 'withering away', and that democracy is the state and, consequently, it will disappear when the state disappears. This is inaccurate.

Engels, throughout all of his works, never equated the concept of democracy, as in the democratic decision making of the proletariat, or a parliament *actually* controlled by the proletariat, with the bourgeois state. His criticisms focus on the hypocrisy of bourgeois social democracy, i.e. on the failures of the class state.

He wrote that when the state comes forward as the representative of the whole of society, state interference will then become superfluous and will die down.

At that point, the proletarian state will wither away to strictly administrative functions, and to the conduction of the processes of production.

In other words, when democracy is achieved, state oppression won't exist any longer.

Engels doesn't mean to eliminate democracy in order to eliminate the state, he instead wants to achieve it. In fact, in the Communist manifesto Engels notes that the proletariat must win the battle for democracy, for example.

It's absurd for Lenin to claim that the state is the most complete form of democracy, and that democracy should wither away.

In the 1st part of chapter two, Lenin writes that the state is a special organization of force: it is an organization of violence for the suppression of some class. What class must the proletariat suppress? Naturally, only the exploiting class, i.e., the bourgeoisie, he notes.

He later adds that the proletariat needs state power, a centralized organization of force, an organization of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to lead the enormous mass of the population — the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletarians — in the work of organizing a socialist economy.

I don't disagree with the argument that the proletariat needs a state that will wither away. The proletariat needs to be organized, i.e. a proletarian state needs to be formed for a while, so that classes can be fully abolished in the withering of it.

But the organisation of the proletariat as the ruling class, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat, is defined by Marx and Engels in the Communist manifesto as the centralization of all instruments of production in the hands of the state, and the removal of all capital from the bourgeoisie, not a centralised organisation of force and an organisation of violence.

Furthermore, the revolution involves the violent, to an extent, overthrow of the bourgeoisie, but not their public mass executions. Lenin's idea of violent suppression was murderous as evident by reality.

In 1918, Lenin decided that the exploiting class that needed to be violently suppressed was the Kulaks, i.e. the higher-income farmers who owned larger farms. The Kulaks were very inconsistently defined with inaccurate class categorizations that also targeted poor and

medium farmers, but let's focus on what actually happened to them.

What form did Lenin's violent suppression take? I believe the telegram he sent is the only proof needed. His hanging order reads: "Hang (hang without fail, so the people see) no fewer than one hundred known kulaks, rich men, bloodsuckers. Do it in such a way that for hundreds of kilometres around the people will see, tremble, know, shout: they are strangling and will strangle to death the bloodsucker kulaks!"

After his assassination attempt, Lenin authorized the terrorization of the Kulaks by the Cheka, the precursor to the KGB and a secret police force, which Trotsky also supported; see also the ensuing Red Terror.

The Red Terror attacked anarchists and socialist revolutionaries, as well, it forcefully mobilized deserters and their families were also targeted, as were foreigners, with justifications from Pravda and the Cheka clearing the way for the later normalization of Stalin's atrocities.

All life is precious, and there's no justification for taking it because of sectarian chauvinism. When this is done by the 'Proletarian State', it is fascism, no matter if the State wears a red hammer and sickle.

As Bakunin put it: "When the people are being beaten with a stick, they are not much happier if it is called the People's Stick".

The proletariat needs political power and the revolutionary proletarian state can't wither away immediately, but Lenin's interpretation of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', and therefore Vanguardism, brought about violence, oppression, exploitation, and fascism (also in the form of Stalin's ethnic cleansings). Lenin became a dictator.

Rosa Luxemburg emphasized the metaphorical nature of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' to expand quality

of life rather than curtail it, and that of a vanguard party to be representative of the world revolution, not as a ruling national body dominating the international stage.

In chapter three, Lenin becomes inconsistent. He claims that he wants democracy without parliamentarism, and that he doesn't reject representative institutions, even tho in chapter one, he was equating democracy with the state and claimed that democracy should wither away.

Lenin's proletarian democracy and state were in truth a dictatorship, and furthermore, this proletarian dictatorship wasn't even proletarian.

The USSR, especially in its final years, didn't make high ranking officials and workers equal, for example, it further divided them. Party members were lifted above the peasant and the factory worker in privileges and wages - class distinctions persisted.

Furthermore, the USSR Congresses, Lenin's representative institutions, voted in policies that subsequently transformed the USSR State into an enormous bureaucratic and military organisation, into an appalling parasitic body as Marx would argue.

Marx himself in a letter he wrote to Kugelmann in 1871, exclaimed that the executive power with its enormous bureaucratic and military organization, with its vast and ingenious state machinery, with a host of officials numbering half a million, besides an army of another half million, is an appalling parasitic body.

In addition, the USSR in 1918 issued a decree that linked citizenship to military service, and obliged all healthy men aged 18-40 to be conscribed, after Russia had exited WW1. This decree also intensified the production of weapons.

The Red Army had millions of soldiers, ships, weapons, tanks, etc., and committed crimes, see Stalin's Great Terror, for instance.

Lenin writes: "... the technicians, foremen and accountants, as well as all officials, shall receive salaries no higher than 'a workman's wage', all under the control and leadership of the armed proletariat - that is our immediate aim."

The worker's wages were only limited to the technicians, foremen, and accountants, and not to the party officials and high ranking military.

The armed proletariat is the control and leadership of the economy, and not the working class proletariat, not the elected representatives of universal suffrage that have short terms and can be revoked that Marx advocated.

Lenin's armed proletariat was an imperialist army and a secret police, and not the temporary people's revolutionary army Marx wanted.

Lenin's interpretation of Marx's comments regarding the parliaments and the dictatorship of the proletariat are the true opportunism.

He basically wrote an ideology by skewing Marx's work in order to maximize the power and privilege he wielded. Lenin betrayed the revolution.

Engels reissued Marx's The Class Struggles in France in 1895 with an introduction endorsing peaceful political tactics, and Marx too had applauded this under the appropriate conditions in the past, but Lenin doesn't even brush over this.

Additionally, when Marx spoke about the legislative and executive branches being the same, this was to offer solutions about bureaucracy, corruption and oppression, and not to further worsen these matters like Lenin did.

Marx in the The Paris Commune writes that the Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, with executive and legislative at the same time so

that the parliamentary control be under the direct control of the un-propertied classes.

He did not mean the dismissal of democracy or the exacerbation of bureaucracy, as Lenin himself admits.

When it comes to the wages under socialism, they'll initially be determined according to the type of work a worker will perform, but this will come to an end really soon, and it requires that all people will already receive a wage that's sufficient for living with ease in society.

It's absurd to imply that the workers *should* have the product of their labour appropriated by the state - leninism reminds of state capitalism more and more at this point.

Moreover, if wages are determined by skills and amount of work solely, then you will still end up with under-classes, not to mention that this is also ableist. Not all people have the same capacity for labour, or labour power, and obviously not all labourers are equally 'productive'.

If you apply this framework, then you haven't really ended the class system, you just replaced it with something similar.

People are still divided by class, it's just that now 'better workers', or party members, are the higher class rather than capitalists.

I agree with Lenin's comments about Bernstein, but in chapter four his analysis also becomes inaccurate and disingenuous, again. He claims that Marx refuted the Anarchists, but the arguments of Marx he mentions are only directed towards the Proudhonists who were but one faction of Anarchism.

Kropotkin, Malatesta, Makhno, and others, produced theory during Lenin's time, why doesn't he mention any of their arguments, and claims that these Anarchists are just the Proudhonists?

It's like claiming Blanqui is the representative of the entire socialist ideology while completely disregarding Marx and Engels.

Democratic centralism has positive elements, but Lenin's conception and practice was undemocratic and corrupt.

Marx can be reconciled with Federalism, see Bookchin's communalism and Öcalan's confederalism, but I'll analyse this further in chapter 13.

In the 4th and 5th chapters, Lenin fleshes his democracy criticisms a little bit more, and speaks about the phases of a communist society.

Inconsistencies in regards to the use of the term democracy re-appear when he conflates it with capitalist democracy or the 'democratic republic', which are indeed democracies in name only.

Democracy is a form of government in which the people have the authority to deliberate and decide legislation, or to choose governing officials to do so.

It is a system by the whole population or all the members of a state, typically through elected representatives. It is something we should all strive to bring.

I also understand democracy as the ability to speak your mind freely and be taken into consideration, and the democratic decision making of the population is an idea closely linked to freedom for me.

We should listen to the minority, and construct legislation and policies so as to protect them when they're exploited - many racial or religious minorities are actively oppressed, and in need of liberation.

Governance should be decided by majority consensus since it's also more efficient, but it should always be guided by anarchocommunist principles that we all agree upon, and contentions should be discussed.

We know that the public ownership of the means of production is more beneficial to society. Capitalism, and the private ownership of productive means, causes poverty, illnesses, environmental destruction, etc.

At the same time, we value all life and we do not wish to murder, exploit, steal or hurt others in anyway. We strive for collective and individual happiness.

We need to produce, but we also need to have our needs met. We seek the best ways to reconcile freedom and need using the tools of democracy.

Lenin claiming that democracy will wither away, and that no kind of democracy will bring socialism, especially after the history of the USSR, sounds like justifying authoritarian state power and rule.

Lenin writes that the economic basis for the complete withering away of the state is such a high state of development of communism at which the antithesis between mental and physical labour disappears, at which there consequently disappears one of the principal sources of modern social inequality - a source, moreover, which cannot on any account be removed immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists.

Actual wage-labour is alienating, though, especially if for-profit production is retained, but let's say that in the first stage of communism some appropriation of the worker's surplus value would still take place.

It's very different to pay a worker 70% of the product they produce, and use the rest 30% to cover the cost of running public services, and another thing completely to withhold 70% of their product, for example, and funnel these exorbitant profits to build weaponry.

Furthermore, social inequality is also removed by educating people's brains. Societal attitudes like bigotry need to be addressed, legislation should be passed so as

to combat these issues, and in order to educate the populace. Also, violence and military propaganda shouldn't be glorified.

I understand the idea that democracy has deviated from its meaning, especially social democracies that don't follow from their theory; see also Noam Chomsky's critique.

Nonetheless, this amount of disdain for democracy usually means opposition to letting the people decide their own governance, and that's frankly an excuse for dictatorship, authoritarianism, fascism, etc.

The German Marxist Otto Rühle, in his book The Struggle Against Fascism Begins with the Struggle Against Bolshevism (1939, after the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact), also notes the authoritarian-to-totalitarian nationalist character of Leninist bolshevism, and its close relation to fascism.

Rühle argued that fascism copied the model of Bolshevism, see also Sorel's analysis of the nationalist pipeline to fascism.

Moreover, elections shouldn't be held in the confines of one single party as this is undemocratic, nor should one party govern firmly and wield state power to 'prevent counter-revolution', as this is inherently fascistic.

The political supremacy of one single party, the suppression of democracy, and the extermination of dissidents are common authoritarian tools.

Lenin's model, if not a 'red fascist' himself, certainly led to Stalin's Great Purge, and many 'communists' that gained power around the globe have repeated this on local scales.

It's unfortunately true that actual communism has never been tried; a communist country has never really existed, even if some countries have implemented socialist policies, such as Vietnam, Cuba, etc.

This is an unavoidable and uncomfortable truth which highlights that state capitalism and red fascism are really compatible, and aren't really communism.

Lenin's vanguard even enabled the oppression of the oppressors in the form of mass executions and starvations.

I agree that full social equality wouldn't be achieved in this first stage - I've already talked about the differences in wages among different workers initially, but his points are used by Stalinists to justify exploiting the labour of the people of the Soviet Union, and basically starving them to death, look at the horrors of the Ukrainian Holomodor.

You can't postpone equality by using authoritarian tactics, nor accumulate capital while people are hungry and labour endlessly. This isn't communism.

Lenin then states that everyone should receive from society as much as they've given into. He who does not work will not eat, he adds. I disagree with this.

How can we accurately measure the extent someone has contributed to society? Even if we could, some people can't contribute the same as others, and might need assistance, like the elderly and the disabled.

Lenin misrepresents the phrase 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs', by claiming that this will happen when people's labour has become so productive that they'll voluntarily work according to their ability. This seems backward.

Stopping workers' oppression, and alleviating people from the toils of labour are fundamental characteristics of communism in my view.

Pushing people to be productive, especially in order to accumulate capital so as to expand a state's power and influence over other nations, and then claiming they will voluntarily engage in less work later is at the very least disingenuous.

When reach the 6th and final chapter of his book, he aggressively discusses social democrats and calls them opportunists.

He makes some good points, but he's once again misrepresenting the Anarchists, a common theme in the book, and he's conflating them with social democrats at times.

Furthermore, anarchists were subjected to ruthless and systematic persecution under his orders, and this puts the whole book in perspective for me.

He basically provided the ideological fodder that was later used for the justification of their murders for political disagreements, which is horrifying.

His claims that anarchists want to abolish the State overnight, that they have a vague idea of what to put in its place, and that they don't know how to use the people's revolutionary power.

The rich history of anarchist communal organising, and the many involvements of anarchists in revolutionary movements can attest to how false his opinions are.

Lenin critiques Bernstein correctly for the most part, and uses Marx's arguments about the elected functionaries against Kautsky successfully, even tho Lenin's regime was also antithetical to them.

Lenin's successor J. V. Stalin was responsible for bloodshed, but some of Lenin's ideas still have relevance.

Leninism, Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism tho, as doctrines, are neither humane, nor correct, ways of approaching leftist ideology even if accurate on some issues.

Since communism is primarily about alleviating suffering, we can adequately postulate that Leninism and its products aren't 'actual communism' (on this point Lenin would agree).

Anarchocommunism

7| The right-wing spectrum ends in State Capitalism

Nazbol, Tankie, and in general most authoritarian 'communism' should be treated as fascistic, and subsequently should be included in the right-wing ideological spectrum.

Uncritically applying leninist thought is unbelievably cruel at times, and marxism leninism results in state capitalism in practice.

The term 'State Capitalism' signifies the economic system in which the state performs the role of the employer, and subsequently exploits the working class. We must make a crucial distinction here, though: there's a difference between state capitalism and capitalism that's regulated by the state.

The latter ideology is related to social democracy and neoliberalism, whereas state capitalism is related to communism. The USSR didn't fully start but evolved into state capitalism, after all.

State capitalism can be regarded as a social system that basically combines capitalism with state ownership, the workers do not meaningfully control the means of production, and capitalist social relations and production for profit still occur within it.

The state, in some cases, also intervenes in the economy to protect and advance the interests of large-scale businesses or monopolies, and not the interests of the workers.

In state capitalism the capitalist mode of production is fundamentally retained; state ownership alone does not do away with capitalism, and this is why this term came to be associated with the term 'state monopoly capitalism' - in both cases social inequalities aren't really addressed.

State capitalism has the characteristic of big government-controlled businesses operating like big multinational capitalist businesses, and subsequently, engaging in imperialism, like the former Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, etc.

State capitalism historically coincides with authoritarianism and totalitarianism, and overlaps with red fascism as previously stated.

Furthermore, state capitalism will eventually lead us to communism if the inevitable revolution results in an actual proletarian state.

As Engels put it, state ownership may not do away with capitalism by itself, but rather it will be the final stage of capitalism, consisting of ownership and management of large-scale production and communication by the bourgeois state. He argued that the tools for ending capitalism are found within state capitalism.

Therefore, the right-wing spectrum starts in social democracy, and ends in state capitalism.

Capitalism's demise is the exact opposite of what anarchocapitalists want, though. 'Anarcho'- Capitalism, which isn't anarcho but is very much capitalism, is the unregulated capitalism that results in the tyranny of private institutions - it's therefore really close to fascism.

Fascism requires a state to function however, so if we constructed a right-wing spectrum of political ideologies, anarchocapitalism would be situated next to fascism towards conservatism, but not towards state capitalism.

State capitalism is situated on the right, mostly coincides with red fascism, a type of fascism, and can lead to communism through revolution.

As we've seen in chapter one, conservatism, and neo-conservatism for that matter, are largely anti-state ideologies that are set to preserve 'traditional' values and institutions like the church, gender roles, racial hierarchies, militarism, etc., i.e. oppressive structures and modes.

Liberalism is primarily a capitalist ideology but it, and more so neoliberalism, is certainly more statist and intersectional than conservatism and libertarianism, since it's usually more supportive of human and civil rights, and therefore is situated more towards the centre than conservatism.

The term Libertarianism has largely been co-opted by anarcho-capitalists, and to a smaller extent by market anarchists, but there's still some historical association with the left. Many populists, left and right alike, seem to identify with some form of it.

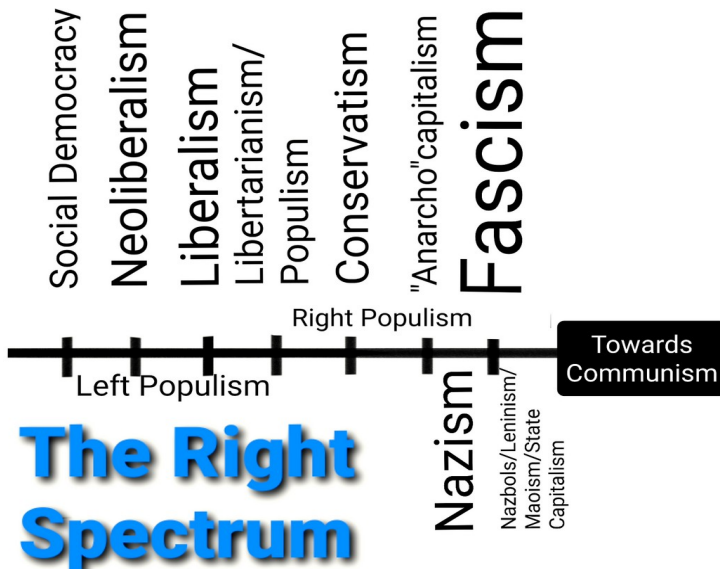
Note here that we shouldn't confuse libertarian socialism, a left wing ideology, with left libertarianism - left libertarianism is very close to left populism. Right libertarianism is close to right populism, and of course conservatism.

The actual libertarian movement and broader populism have a large overlay, especially in the 21st

century. This is an added reason why it's included in the right.

Additionally, I would place liberalism to the left of libertarianism, since it's still somewhat associated with the centre, whereas libertarianism, and populism, are mostly associated with the right - both populisms have reactionary undertones.

As a result, and after including the analysis of neoliberalism and social democracy in chapter 1, I would construct the right-wing spectrum of political ideologies thusly:



Leninism is a rightist deviation of Marx that Antonie Pannekoek also correctly identified as inexorably leading to State Capitalism.

From an intersectional approach, state capitalism has historically oppressed racial, gender, and sexual minorities. The targeting of Jewish, Roma, and Indigenous people are also common among fascists.

Xenophobia and some sort of Supremacy and Nationalism (the very chauvinism Lenin decried) are always present in fascist ideologies. State capitalism has nationalist elements too, at times. Just look at the Han nationalism the Chinese Communist Party is promoting.

Nationalism always becomes oppressive when it's not a reaction to oppression, and when it moves away from the socialist goal of building an international movement and anti-fascism.

Anti-colonial nationalism has socialist and anarchist characteristics, for example, since the national ownership of the means production is accompanied by opposition to authoritarian state oppression.

Nationalism is therefore a right-wing ideology that spans the entire right spectrum depending on the amount of state oppression, capitalism, bigotry, and religious fundamentalism in its advocacy. We will speak about nationalism more in future chapters.

Monarchy and feudalism are adjacent to conservatism and fascism.

When a state oppresses and executes people, constructs and promotes an ideology, and engages in imperialism, colonialism and militarism, this state can only be called fascistic.

The justifications offered by Lenin directly paved the way for the atrocities of Stalin. Mass murders are always fascistic. It is for these reasons among others that Stalin is accused of being a fascist.

Just look at the atrocities of 1936 to 1938 that included the targeting of ethnic minorities, named the Great Terror, not to mention the Holodomor famine.

His type of collectivization also brought the justification of forced migration under the excuse of 'helping the communist cause'.

The Stalinist propaganda of the time that claimed counter-revolutionaries wanted to disrupt things even reminds of red scare propaganda. The enemy is getting stronger, and it must be 'dealt with'.

This further illustrates the creation of an enemy as a manichean construction - a strategy most fascists engage in.

The Great Terror was done by a Nation-State that simply took on the mask of an international nationalist, and one toll was the thousands of peoples that have been ravaged.

Let me be abundantly clear here tho, the Nazis and Italian Fascists were vile too, even more vile by some metrics.

Historically, the swastika represents the glorification of the Holocaust, and it's a symbol of hate.

The hammer and sickle, though, isn't, it is considered by us communists a symbol of triumph over Nazism, even if Berlin was decimated, and for many it is a symbol of the proletarian revolution that is yet to come.

Anarchocommunism

8| The historic role of the Class State

The class state, religion, the school and the family are some of the building blocks of society, and as a result, implant beliefs and opinions in the individual.

The bourgeois state is a capitalist structure, it was developed as the tool with which capitalists, and monarchs, maximized their self-interests, and their property.

Antonio Gramsci in his Prison Notebooks argues that the state isn't simply the narrow sense of government. It's instead divided between political society (the police, the army, legal system, religion, etc.), and civil society (the family, the education system, trade unions, etc.)

The latter is commonly seen as the private or non-state sphere, which mediates between the state and the economy. However, he stresses that the division is purely conceptual and that the two often overlap in reality.

Gramsci claims the capitalist state rules through force plus consent: political society is the realm of force and civil society is the realm of consent.

False consciousness is being cultivated by schools, religions, the state and media - our consent is being manufactured by the superstructure.

You can't consent to something you don't have full knowledge of, or are coerced into, though.

The political and civil society need to be reformed, and the bourgeois state, i.e. the class state, needs to be abolished using the peoples' power so that consent for governance is given without coercion and brute force.

We have to destroy bourgeois power and the bourgeois State, which are to be supplanted by a revolutionary proletarian State and power that will wither away to strictly administrative functions, organized along horizontal non-hierarchical lines.

The current form of state and government must be superseded, and its replacement should be fully, and actually, controlled by the people through direct democracy and council structures.

Gramsci defined the 'withering away of the state' as the full development of civil society's ability to regulate itself.

When the proletariat, i.e. the working class and marginalized people, regulate themselves through democratic decision making and according to anarchist and communist principles, they create a new form of power which can lead to the emancipation of the individual.

The transitional state the lower classes form possesses a type of proletarian power that is constructing a state organisation.

Proletarian power comes with the emergence of an authority, in the form of a revolutionary anarchist army, for example. Look at the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine of 1917, i.e. the Black Army of Makhno.

We will speak more about the state and authority in future chapters, but for now, let's look at how the class

state employed its power to oppress men and women along gender and class lines.

Max Weber defined power as the ability to exercise one's will over others. The control over people, the demand for their obedience, and their domination stifle individuality. This is why accepting authority, as in an authoritarian power, is contested.

How can you consent to wage slavery if there's no other avenue available for your survival?

The masses need their means of subsistence met, but rulers hold the production means. The forces of production, i.e. the human labour and the means of labour, are rented and owned by capitalists.

So when the only avenue for finding food is to submit to an unjust hierarchy, people become alienated, and their revolutionary spirit is broken. They see no way out.

This is why an authority that authorizes production should emerge that isn't hierarchical, but horizontal, directly electable, and swiftly recallable.

Accumulating capital, the profit motive, wage labour are authoritarian processes to an extent. This is also why, in my view, distribution, like consumer councils, should also be authorized and organized along non-authoritarian lines.

Capitalist and state hierarchies are historically rested upon misanthropy and bigotry, as is patriarchy.

Embracing each intersection of oppression, and building class consciousness, are the most effective tools with which we can topple these oppressive systems, and most importantly make sure that the organisation for the revolution won't result in an oppressive aftermath.

The hierarchical system is an inhumane machine. Competition among people, and domination over others,

and over the environment, are fundamental characteristics of patriarchal capitalism.

Workers and peasants have been brutally oppressed the globe over, and historically the roots of such oppression can mostly be found in the mode of production civil society holds.

See the serfdom institution in the Middle Ages and African slavery, for example. Feudalism and Capitalism both gathered the means of production into few private hands, and therefore cemented hierarchical divisions.

Our prehistoric nomadic ancestors created communities, and further enforced traditional gender roles, and the ancient communal organising created classes. When feudalist systems emerged, this resulted in much more severe forms of oppression for men and women.

With the accumulation of agricultural land into private hands, men were forced to work in the fields under gruelling conditions. The body and brain of men went through centuries of over-work, deprivation, repression, and malnutrition.

The heavy toll of back breaking labour took an immense toll on their bodies and on their psychological well-being.

The primitive accumulation that led to the modern capitalist private accumulation, also led to the extension of the workday beyond all limit, literally working enslaved people to death.

Monarchs slaughtered and enslaved their subjects, and capitalists continued and expanded this practice.

After the French Revolution of 1789, and the latter abandonment of Socialism, the practice of war became much more aggressive, as well.

Soldiers were used to accumulate wealth for the ruling classes since they enforced and protected private property, participated in resource-extracting warfare,

and curbed the revolutionary sentiments and movements of their fellow men.

In addition, prisons were built upon torture, and since the late 19th century until today, prison labour has become a multi-billion-dollar industry.

Incarcerated people, especially men, do all kinds of unpaid or underpaid jobs, like building military equipment, or fighting fires.

The continuation and the severity of punitive justice is rested upon protecting the power the upper class holds, and is sustained due to profit-making. Not to mention the truth that the punishment of incarceration includes severe patriarchal oppression.

For example, in 2003, the US Congress passed the Prison Rape Elimination Act, and estimates within the text of the act suggested at least 13 per cent of American prisoners had experienced a sexual assault behind bars — equal to more than a million people over a span of 20 years.

The reality is that sexual assaults are assumed to be so prevalent that when the topic of prison arises, a joking reference to rape seems almost obligatory.

From childhood, men are imposed with a lot of stereotyping like men don't cry, or that gay men aren't real men. Violence is glorified, and men are taught to just take the trauma with silence.

The social burdens of oppression, the humiliation of being poor, or fat, or unsuccessful are propagandised by a hegemonic culture that's deeply capitalist and patriarchal.

Speaking out against patriarchal abuse, and organising against capitalist oppression are the tools with which we can change this. Workers and ex-prisoners need to form and join labour unions. Ex-prisoners are severely discriminated when they seek employment after completing their sentence too.

A united labour movement comprised by workers of all trades and walks of life is a great tool for finally abolishing these systems of oppression.

Women have been brutally oppressed by these systems, as well. The intersection of capitalism and the patriarchy has created and sustained modes and structures that leftist theory, and specifically anarchism, socialism, and marxism have analysed in depth.

Marxism has contributed more to understanding the oppression of women than the modern women's movement usually recognises.

Women today take an increasingly active role in leftist revolutionary struggles around the world, thereby forcing socialist movements to acknowledge and facilitate their participation and leadership.

Through a materialist lens of analysis we see that the primitive accumulation of wealth by feudal societies, and the resulting capital accumulation, presupposed the production and reproduction of the idea that not all people have the same advantageous capacity to do work, or labour-power.

The roots of the social organisation of women's labour are first and foremost found in private households, and domestic relationships, before and under capitalism. One of the major foundations of oppressive systems is sexism, after all.

If all humans are supposed to be equal, inequality can only be explained with notions such as gender.

Women were locked inside the house, and were forced to keep childbearing, because having more hands to work in the fields was necessary for the accumulation of wealth by the ruling class.

Throughout history, when some people wanted others to be submissive and productive, they played the nature card, so enforcing strict gender roles were the tools with

which religious, and state and capitalist propaganda, continued the oppression of women.

Domestic labour is a necessary labour that is performed outside the sphere of capitalist production, but in order for capitalist production to take place, both the domestic and the social components of labour are required.

A large number of women are workers themselves, and many are at the same time mothers, struggling with mountains of responsibilities and over-work.

As a result, the organisation of a successful revolutionary movement needs to take the material oppression of women into account, and acknowledge both patriarchal and capitalist processes.

Furthermore, patriarchal and capitalist propaganda is depicting women and the world in gender binary, sexist, and aggressive ways.

You have to be a thin and pretty girlboss, who either can't survive without a man, or doesn't need him at all.

Objectification is a notion central to feminist theory, and, imo, overlaps with Marx's concept of commodification, to the subordination of both private and public realms to the logic of capitalism.

We're seeing and treating women as objects and as commodities, just look at the sexual objectification of women in media, video games, movies, etc.

The historic perpetuation of sexist, racist and capitalist attitudes by the state, or the lack of their acknowledgement thereof, continues to sustain the pillars of every hierarchical system.

Authoritarianism, and of course fascism, is rested on hierarchical concentrations and separations of power, and the unwillingness most people have to actually tackle them.

The neo fascism that has emerged under late-stage capitalism was further indicative of the above truisms, especially through recuperation and capitalist realism.

9| The recuperation of Socialism

In January 2021, a short squeeze of the stock of Gamestop, and other securities, took place, causing major financial consequences for certain hedge funds, and large financial losses for many people.

Approximately 140 percent of Gamestop's public float had been sold short, and the rush to buy shares to cover those positions as the price rose, caused it to rise even further. The short squeeze was triggered by some subreddits, and a number of hedge funds.

On January 25, Elon Musk tweeted a reference to the 'stonks' meme rising in popularity at the time - along with a link to the r/wallstreetbets subreddit.

A brief, sharp rise in the share price to over \$200 followed Musk's tweet, and on January 28, some brokerages, particularly app brokerages such as Robinhood, halted the buying of Gamestop and other securities.

This short squeeze caused the retailer's stock price to reach a pre-market value of over US\$500 per share, nearly 30 times the \$17.25 valuation at the beginning of

the month. The price of many other heavily shorted securities and cryptocurrencies also increased.

This stock market manipulation had the effect of the stock price for Gamestop, and other securities, to decline drastically. On February 1 and 2, the Gamestop stock price lost more than 80 percent of its value from its intraday peak price, recorded during the previous week.

Gamestop shares lost 60 percent of their value on February 2, closing below \$100 for the first time in a week. More than \$27 billion in value had been erased.

Other assets affected by the short squeeze and put under company trading restrictions, such as AMC and Blackberry shares, also declined in value.

The short-squeezed securities' prices continued to decline during the week. Despite the decline, some r/wallstreetbets users rallied to convince other users to hold on to the shares, arguing either that they would increase in value or that such an action would send a political message.

As the stock prices continued to decline, some of the recent investors held on to their shares, and suffered significant losses.

Dozens of class action lawsuits have been filed against Robinhood in U.S. courts, and the U.S. House Committee on Financial Services held a congressional hearing on the incident, but so far nobody haven't gotten their money back, nobody has been put in prison for this, and no law has been passed to prevent similar profiteering from happening again.

The US state is once again enabling capitalism's shameful pursuit of profit.

This scandal also highlights more broad social commentaries. Investing in the stock market is usually a form of gambling, a form of addiction, and the stock market is the field in which capitalists play. Human lives

are actually destroyed by this, and most capitalist states blatantly facilitate it.

Capitalism recuperated the revolutionary struggle against capital by claiming that buying stocks is a form of wealth redistribution. The for-profit media were as per usual either obfuscating, or propagandizing and profiting from the whole thing.

To be perfectly frank, there should be no stock market at all; to this end and until such time, however, there should be regulation focused on taking power away from banks, multinational traders and hedge funds. The stock market needs to be regulated heavily.

State legislation shouldn't protect and maximize capitalist interests, but this is easier said than done when most, if not all, states have been built on maximizing profit.

This parasitic relationship between the state and capitalism is the reason why socialist policies, such as free healthcare, unemployment benefits, free housing, etc., aren't being implemented.

The corruption of state officials is one way with which this happens, the other is their ideological convictions which usually align with their class. Let's take the UK as an example.

When I visited the UK many things became apparent: The government of the country is heavily intertwined with capitalism, but the state is still a monarchy in image.

British capitalism is a corporate neo feudalism, a liberal capitalism that's nationalist, imperialist and preys on the individual.

Industry regulators in the UK, for instance, are comprised and led by individuals who are later employed as chairmans and directors in heavily associated private companies after their dismissal from public office, despite the obvious conflict of interest.

The private information of patients is also sold to the highest bidder, see the NHS national data opt-out situation.

The Torry government moves closer and closer to the complete marketization of all state functions. This is what conservatives and neoliberals want to achieve, after all.

The state should, instead, redistribute capital like wealth, and cover the financial costs of public products or services, and not work towards the marketization of them. Social democratic policies are always better than conservative ones.

There are even some socdem policies that could have an instant positive impact on the economy right now, for example.

Subsidized housing could be a reality, and the government could cover the majority of energy, water, and utilities costs as public goods.

The funds for these policies could be found by taxing the highest wealth owners and incomes.

As a result, people will have more income available for consumption and savings, since rent and utilities won't take up the majority of it anymore. As people will be freer to engage in voluntary demand, supply will follow suit.

Governments should further legislate as to curtail the use of fossil fuels, redirect energy production, create better worker protections, etc.

If these things became a reality we would live in a whole different world than that of today, and we would move many steps closer to socialism.

These policies are very much pragmatic and can be achieved through electoral politics. So it really makes you wonder why politicians don't just implement them and see how they fare.

The short answer is that we know who funds politicians under capitalism, and that austerity fails people for the benefit of a privileged few. Claiming these policies are unrealistic is just capitalist propaganda to protect their wealth.

Another example of this intentional cruelty is the handling of the 2008 economic crisis by the EU.

Instead of subsidizing a series of increased government spending towards struggling EU-member states, like many economists advised, the EU cut it further, and aggressively no less, to repay neoliberal loans under enforced restructuring agreements. This is a form of capitalist imperialism.

In addition, capitalists are applying pressure to governments and politicians to further deregulate industries globally. This worsens the financial situation of the already unprotected and severely targeted average taxpayer, the worker-consumer, the majority.

Furthermore, the for-profit media owned by large capital continue to propagandize free market solutions that only make things worse, thus ensuring the public's complicity through the disenfranchisement of voting.

Since voting doesn't change much, then what's the point of doing it? Social democracy can't be achieved, let alone actual socialism.

If the public starts to develop class consciousness, they blame the failures of democracy - populism helps here - and not the underlying patriarchal capitalist structure, therefore fascist attitudes are boosted.

The results are devastating, from the attempted Grexit to the actual Brexit, and corruption is the simplest excuse.

The recuperation of socialism by capital involves misrepresenting what socialism is, and also disregarding socialist policies as ineffective, impossible, or not true

socialism. Many leftists have fallen victim to this, and unwittingly help capitalism.

A socdem UBI policy may not be socialism, but is nevertheless preferable from a far-right cut on public spending.

The truth is that bold social policies, meaning government services that will be provided free of charge in their entirety that can actually help people right now, are very much welcomed, and possible.

For example, when it comes to socialized housing, we can create an actual state-owned company that manufactures the houses, employs the workers, finds the raw materials, etc.

The houses build would be given to all the population for free, and free maintenance would be a thing. Furthermore, public/state owned companies would provide access and means to renewable electricity, fresh water, free communication and data, etc.

Transportation would also be free of charge and provided by public transportation non-profit companies, and trains, buses, planes, etc. would also be public property.

The state could also initially subsidize small private companies taking these roles, until the huge gap of wealth and income inequality is lowered.

Public solutions exist, and the reason they're not explored is because the private sector wants to keep profiteering at the expense of the majority.

The term Public/State companies means the companies whose sole owner and manager is the state, but most nations operate under a mixed public-private ownership model.

Instead of most services being provided for free and the cost being covered by the state regardless of government, we have the interchange of small and large privatization policies each time a different government

is 'elected', so voters only get to choose the lesser of two evils.

Taxing the highest earners is not only pragmatic, but it also leaves room for new technological research in many fields since more funds will be available.

When people aren't properly supported by their government, or worse are outright attacked, it's easier to demand lesser benefits for the 'undeserving' than more benefits for all, especially since false consciousness is being created by the hegemonic culture and patriarchal attitudes, like racism, are still not addressed.

Capitalist recuperation by hegemonic propaganda boosts fascistic hierarchical notions, but you have to remember that your 'enemies' are the capitalists, not the workers who work 9 to 5 to put their kids through school.

You have your job and your problems, but attacking other marginalized existences won't solve anything, addressing the systemic capitalist inequalities will.

If you have to go to work, for instance, and the metro isn't working because of a strike, you should chill, and remember that capitalism forced them to ruin your day - that's the only way they can fight the exploitation you both experience.

We should discuss and build alternative systems like mutual aid networks, support labour and tenant unions, and participate in sympathy strikes.

This is how we build unity, and solidarity.

'Solidarity, Comrades' isn't just a phrase, it should be a praxis.

The goal of the lower and middle classes is liberation from exploitation and oppression, capitalist and patriarchal alike, and this of course can't be reached by

simply redirecting the existing exploitation to another master.

We can't just substitute the bourgeoisie with the state, like the Soviet Union did, but to instead make the lower stratum of society, like the working class and the middle class, realize that they themselves should be the 'masters over production' for the purposes of meeting the needs of all people, including consumers.

We should organize the lower classes in an actual proletarian state that will be the intermediary stage until we establish communism. We can abolish the peoples' 'state' when we achieve anarchocommunism, the highest stage of communism - I will elaborate on state abolition later.

The revolution will come to pass through a series of complex interlocking political reasons, economic crises as they arise, and because of underlying inherent class struggle.

The current uprisings around the world are indicative of such class struggle taking place, even if they're still on an introductory level. They're also, according to marxist theory, suggestive of late-stage capitalism.

The class struggle is the major force that decides the course of history because of the sheer number of people belonging to the working class.

It sparks revolutionary movements, and people become aware of it when class consciousness among them is successfully cultivated.

Class struggle, also referred to as class conflict, is the political tension and economic antagonism that exists in society consequent to socio-economic competition among the social classes, or between rich and poor. It exists because these two different groups of people have different interests.

It's in the capitalists' best interest to maximize profits and minimize costs, and in the workers' best interest to maximize wages and minimize labour hours.

Class consciousness is the set of beliefs that a person holds regarding their social class or economic rank in society, the structure of their class, and their class interests, and if cultivated, workers will realize the existence of class struggle.

Class and other social strata like caste share many similarities, as do most social hierarchies that manifest with material oppression, and specifically income and wealth inequality.

The majority of people have to engage in wage labour in order to survive, and this is the major factor that should unite them.

In addition, the gender, race, sexual, etc. oppression many of us face undeniably intersects with class oppression, and this is the reason why there's been so much contention with these uprisings.

If all strata of society are united under a common goal, they're much more difficult to combat.

Capitalists will always attempt to recuperate every revolution and hold back the workers from revolutionary aims – from the aforementioned class struggle. They're scared of losing their place on the higher class, on the top of the hierarchy.

There're already warnings against 'extreme demands', appeals to be timid, for-profit media smear attempts, compromises with liberals/neoliberals, agent provocateurs, etc.

Remember that the outcome of this struggle solely depends on the maturity of the working class as a whole, and it includes black people, women, trans people, disabled people, etc.

Furthermore, we don't want a society where the 'best brains' will direct production and the people will once

again have their labour exploited under a new aristocracy.

Socialism can be done by a state, but this state shouldn't oppress people because of economic conditions and immutable characteristics.

Democratic decision making done through voting, and parliamentary structures aren't antithetical to communist principles, on the contrary. Most leftists primarily oppose the same things, after all.

We have to be extremely careful here, tho, and not fall into the trap of reformism. Our first goal is to abolish capitalism and replace it with socialism, not to simply reform it into social democracy.

Leftist policies are of course preferable, but they aren't our goal. Sure we support them, but we first and foremost strive to build a revolutionary movement, and bring about vast social change. We want to bring down the system, not to put a different mask on it.

Capital utilizes the unique political conditions that exist in every country and have been developed through history and traditions, and manufactures the public's consent to gain political legitimacy.

Let's take the UK, for instance, where a parliamentary system is in conjunction with a high measure of supposed personal 'liberty' and autonomy, and it's also one of the places where capitalism was born and developed.

While there indeed *may* be parliamentary roads to alleviating oppression, a literal House of Lords certainly isn't it.

Similarly, in the United States, Senators seem free to kill legislation they or their donors do not like - this isn't a proletarian state by any means.

The arguments for a new international labour movement cannot possibly find their basis in state capitalism, fascist dictatorship, or social democracy.

10| Indigenous anarchism to anarchocommunism

The plight of indigenous communities has been well-documented, and it's something that we should not gloss over. The worst of it is that its effects still remain largely unaddressed.

Indigenous peoples are not a monolith. There are many tribes across the globe, and each has its own history, language, and culture. I'm using the broad term indigenous peoples for simplicity's sake.

Canadian and Australian governments forcefully gathered Indigenous children, and sent them into foster homes where they were forced to abandon all traces of their Indigenous cultures.

There was purposeful underfunding of residential schools, and economic violence which pushed natives to staggering percentages of alcoholism. Many indigenous peoples were moved from their ancestral lands in an attempt to be assimilated into urban populations.

The US government even had the audacity to try and buy out individuals who had been sexually assaulted in residential schools, and who sought any accountability in court.

In Tibet, German and English anthropologists who were measuring native people's skulls later became nazis, and were educated by 'prestigious' universities.

As we see, historically there's a definite connection between the economic system of capitalism and the oppression native peoples faced, and continue to face until today.

Indigenous children in residential schools were starved for research purposes, for example, and the Canadian government tried to destroy these records.

Recently, the bodies of 215 indigenous children were found buried under a school for indigenous people in Canada, and don't forget the oil and gas transport pipeline issues the tribes in North America and Canada are currently facing.

The bodies of indigenous people have been stolen and used for scientific research by Western colonial society.

European Colonialism cultivated the notion that white people were 'civilized' and indigenous tribes were 'uncivilized' or 'savage'.

Inherently fascistic methods of categorization are heteropatriarchal, with men being logical vs women being emotional, with humans vs animals, with able-bodied people vs disabled people, and generally with every imposed societal distinction, often in this form of inherently oppressive false dichotomy.

Feminism, more specifically intersectional feminism, has researched these distinctions and hierarchies, and has provided us with tools to combat and dismantle them.

I should note here that calling indigenous women woc is not something many of them identify with, because it lumps them all into a category in relation to the white man.

The word feminism has gotten a bad rep from the media so for men it's difficult to admit there's widespread oppression of women, and to understand how they are also harmed by being locked into modes of oppression and domination.

It's understandable to some extent, patriarchal oppression is deeply entrenched into society, and sexism as a system of oppression is devaluing women. Some Indigenous societies have been highly feminist, tho.

In the US Turtle Island for example, there was political, economic, and social equality between the genders. Matriarchal governance was commonplace until the Indian Act - these types of legislation are the reason why only men can be chiefs now.

Capitalist wage labour, and religious male-centred creation mythologies are added reasons as to why.

There's a big amount of feminist literature from Queer and Masculine Indigenous studies, as well. Two-spirited people have existed for a long time, for example, and indigenous men have been stripped of their spirituality, and the dominance over their companions has exacerbated.

I'd like to stress here that another threat the future generations of indigenous peoples face is the high numbers of hiv/aids cases among their young women. This highlights the lingering socioeconomic and health impacts of capitalist 'treatment', and the stigmatization of addiction.

In South America, feminist anti-capitalist advocacy has a rich history that continues today.

In 1996 in Mexico, for instance, a female Zapatista revolution Commander, Comandanta Esther, shocked the white male assembly of the house of parliament, being both an indigenous person and a woman.

She spoke with an indigenous syntax in Spanish, reminiscent of a pre-Colombian poetry style, using the word 'heart', not in the context of feelings, but of reason, history, and truth.

Another indigenous Zapatista revolutionary named María de Jesús Patricio spoke about how systems of oppression, including hegemonic legality, hurt everyone.

Sylvia Marcos is an academic who has participated in Indigenous and Zapatista women's struggles for justice, and writes about gender and women's issues in Ancient and Contemporary Mexico.

She points to the declaration of the Summit of the Indigenous women of the Americas, a summit of approximately 420 women from Latin American countries who built their careers within the power structure.

These women made a clear distinction between spirituality and institutional religion like Catholicism. The term of indigenous spirituality can be better understood in the academic context of cosmology, rather than Christianity.

These women were solving the atheists vs theists debate before the YouTube skeptics saw their first Sam Harris video.

The disposition of Meso-American indigenous peoples is to do away with the binary gender concepts, and to instead argue for a complimentary fluidity.

They've rejected these dichotomies, and asked for their customs to be respected. Their culture is not in a stasis; it's evolving, and there's a selective process of change.

We again see that the 'ignorant, backwards, and superstitious' stereotypes are not the indigenous peoples, but are in fact the colonial powers and Christianity. Indigenous women actively redefine feminism to be separated from binary thinking, and from essentialism - they even spoke about the flexible agender duality of the divine.

They believe through difference we can establish balance, and that men are vital partners we should include in feminism. They also advocate for decolonization.

When it comes to decolonization as it relates to indigenous sovereignty, it's a touchy subject because it involves the return of land. The way I see it, the return of land can start small while locals resettle.

Eventually the State will provide land to all for free, and the state can eventually be a community of 'autonomous' zones, a collective of communes, a democratic confederation.

The right of colonized peoples to self-determination and liberation isn't to be feared. Land must be returned, but the goal of leftist analysis is to eliminate not substitute racist, classist, etc. power structures, and eventually end up with fewer states, not more.

So the contentions about decolonization seem really bizarre, and many of them appear racist and ill-informed. Not to mention that many of these pundits are bashing protests that have taken place regarding decolonization.

Decolonization and resistance to ongoing colonization are leftist goals. In the East Bay area in California, for example, protests have happened against government plans to pave over parts of the shellmound.

The Sogorea Te' land trust is actively stewarding three plots in different parts of the East Bay in order to

provide a place where remains, such as shellmounds — which have been kept in museums - can be returned.

This land trust has also created a Himmetka, a culturally based emergency response hub, because of the fires, power outages, visible climate change, the pandemic, and the fallout of social inequality.

It includes a ceremonial space, food and medicine gardens, water reclamation, filtration and storage, first-aid supplies, tools, and a seed-saving library.

It's basically an autonomous collective that offers mutual aid to people, which should be the first and foremost function of the State. The state should help people, but unfortunately this isn't the case.

According to the political theory of mutualism, the purpose of the capitalist state is to subjugate, tax, imprison, and control people. The state can take and it can give, effectively creating, and maintaining, privileged and underprivileged classes.

Now, in my opinion, if the State gives land and financial remuneration to indigenous people, and to all people in fact, it can start to transform into a structure that's actually starting to promote liberty. When the concept of property arose, the problems for the people intensified, after all.

Furthermore, wage labour is based on the appropriation of the value a person's labour produces.

A person or a group of persons took the product of another person's labour, and this has been going on continuously in many forms, from explicit violence to the more nefarious neoliberal ways of today. The element of force was and is ever-present.

From the desire to maximize and maintain the natural advantage of productive land, to armies conquering people and taking them as slaves, this format of 'governing' was the foundation of what we now call the State.

Colonial methods depend in part on brute force, and they all employed the power of the state, the concentrated and organized force of society, to hasten the process of transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode, and to shorten the transition.

Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power, as Marx put it.

In the words of David Harvey, primitive accumulation entailed taking land, say, enclosing it, and expelling a resident population to create a landless proletariat, and then releasing the land into the privatised mainstream of capital accumulation.

The means of production, like land, got to be privately owned and traded in, and then the capitalists could find workers on the labour market ready and willing to work for them, because they have no other means of livelihood.

The whole purpose of primitive accumulation was to privatize the means of production, so that the exploiting owners can make money from the surplus labour of those who, lacking other means, must work for them.

In addition, the French revolution didn't achieve its goals. The Kings and Lords may have been removed, but the people still weren't free from tyranny.

The modern state just became a little more responsible and responsive to the populace, or at least perpetuates the illusion of this while really being beholden to national and international capital interests.

The oppressor changed and the oppression became more extended, now capitalist big businesses exploit the workers; the majority is manipulated through hegemonic propaganda that manufactures consent and false consciousness, and negative solidarity is a reality.

Small businesses, if they can overcome barriers to entry, can't survive because of costs and taxes; the consumer is paying exorbitant prices, and the state is subsidizing profits of large capital.

The State's tool, the police, enforce property laws that have nothing to do with occupancy, tariffs sustain monopolies, and laws like copyright infringement impede the so-called competitive 'free market'.

The top 1% owns 40% of the wealth in the US - this wealth isn't the product of labour and innovation, but of privilege such as inheritance, royalties, rents, capital gains, etc., i.e. the theft of labour and innovation.

Economic inequality is rampant also because the State has created and sustains privileges since its inception.

In The Confessions of a Revolutionary, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon asserted that 'Anarchy is Order Without Power', and I would somewhat agree, but power is necessary to bring about order.

Anarchism as a philosophy was always building the new in the shell of the old, and the only structure capable of achieving wealth and income equality is the state - the state here takes the form of the organized proletariat in revolt. As a result, the state has to be completely re-invented.

Its power is hierarchical so it should be lowered to many aspects, and restructured and distributed differently to some others, but not completely removed. Where and how to construct and apply state power should be the key points.

Power directly controlled by the masses that doesn't use physical coercion, but instead varying degrees of socioeconomic force targeted on the large owners of the means of production, and the abolishment of free market capitalism.

The government should interfere in the economy, and regulate it, completely reform it, etc., since free market systems are harmful. The state should move away from capitalism and free markets, not towards them.

Free-market systems *and* complete state annihilation leave the individual defenceless. 'Market anarchism', for example, is functionally very similar to anarchocapitalism in advocacy and reactionary identity.

Market abolitionism, on the other hand, is the set of positions that market systems are inherently harmful to humans and our environment, & therefore seeks to move toward a moneyless society.

Rebuttals of it that argue price signals are the most reliable indicator for the production and distribution of products can't seem to fathom supercomputers, various voting systems, parecon models, etc. as alternative sets of signals in an inclusive system that accounts for systemic and environmental risks as much as possible beforehand.

The state shouldn't perpetuate economic inequality, but should instead subsidize people's income, it shouldn't have militarized police, but a body of officers similar to social workers serving a protective function.

An anarchist structure, a non-hierarchical social structure, that serves the function of a 'police', more so of a social services provider that has nothing to do with the current police form, is not an oxymoron.

We can build a 'police', for lack of a better word, structure that actually serves and protects us, and only uses force in order to prevent the loss of life, and not to take a life.

The state, as the name suggests, is static: it doesn't evolve according to social life, it rests on tradition, and it upholds the status quo. Any progress that has been made throughout history was done by opposing it, not idolizing it.

That's been the case from free speech and shorter work hours, to civil rights and the increased standards of living in modern times. Opposing the state and capitalism is what revolutionary action was primarily about.

Of course bourgeois states operate at the behest of capital interest, but blaming the state exclusively for all the failings of capitalism is a favourite tactic of capitalists. Many of them want to privatise vital state functions, like free healthcare. 'Anarcho'capitalists want to privatise the police even.

The little freedom people enjoy, we historically won through questioning authority, privilege, *and* superstition. Unfortunately, the fight for freedom and liberty is incomplete, and we must take the next step.

Anarchism manifests without rulers, not without rules. Anarchism, as a practice, is the absenteeism of domination in human and systemic relationships, and it is the means with which we establish anarchy.

Daniel Byron in his video [A Modern Anarchism](#) puts it best: "Anarchism is the opposition to all hierarchical power structures, the framework for locating and understanding them, and the method by which we might dismantle and replace those hierarchical power structures with a horizontal society of free association, controlled together by the people, which we call anarchy."

Mutualism views history mostly as the struggle between unjust authority and freedom, and proposes that voluntary organizations of people can provide us with the necessary tools to take the next step.

Voluntary organizations, which include the examples highlighted above regarding the indigenous land trusts, can lead to communes connected on a federal level, i.e. a democratic confederalism, an anarchist communist system of governance.

The examples of indigenous communes are mentioned in the works of many anarchist writers - anarchist praxis is communal organizing. Anarchist collectives have been offering mutual aid to those in need for a long time, after all.

Anarchist structures *can* replace state structures. The purpose of direct action is to help people, and the purpose of 'dual power' in an anarchist sense is to build community systems that *replace* state functions.

Marx did not at all oppose the view that the state would disappear when classes disappeared, or that it would be abolished when classes were abolished.

In Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology David Graeber writes that in typical anarchist revolutionary discourse a 'counterpower' is a collection of social institutions set in opposition to the state and capital: from self-governing communities to radical labour unions to popular militias.

Sometimes it is also referred to as an 'anti-power.' When such institutions maintain themselves in the face of the state, this is usually referred to as a 'dual power' situation.

By this definition, most of human history is actually characterized by a dual-power re analysis of the state as a relation between a utopian imaginary, and a messy reality involving strategies of flight and evasion, predatory elites, and a mechanics of regulation and control, he notes.

The power and authority of the state should be questioned and transformed, and the degree of centralization should be judged according to efficiency, human and environmental cost.

We can build a stateless state. We can build a moral non-violent entity that's automated, and without bureaucracy.

This state would be a structure that doesn't oppress people. It will evolve democratically according to needs, through the direct participatory voting of all.

We live under capitalism, and we know it uses the state to speculate racism, sexism, ableism, etc., but anarchism without adjectives is very abstract. Adjectives matter for anarchism.

Ideologies like 'National anarchism' and 'anarcho'-capitalism are oppressive philosophies, for example.

It's true that there has been no systemic justice, so there is no peace for most people. Rosa Luxemburg wrote that those who do not move don't notice their chains. I would add that freedom can be the feeling after the removal of the capitalist chains.

In order to find systemic justice, we have to make it. We have to take the state in order to smash capitalism, and redistribute its wealth amongst all people.

According to anarchocommunist Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin in The Conquest of Bread, all human progress was created by the work of all people, and attempting to take any aspect of human invention and claim it was the work of one person is ridiculous. All belongs to all.

Offering the fruits of your labour freely is how society should be organized, and remuneration/compensation can take many forms - this is a function the 'utopian' state can also acquire in the form of a UBI.

All people should enjoy the benefits of human progress; every factory, thought, and invention are common property, so everything should be shared. This obviously isn't advocating for lack of privacy and acknowledgement, but for lack of servitude and exploitation.

Anarchy is the absence of oppression, and we can achieve it through non-hierarchical organizations.

Kropotkin noted tho that the revolution should first and foremost focus on the needs of the people, before schooling them in their duties.

He claimed that we should initially fulfil people's needs, like food, clothing, and shelter, and then discuss with them how to help them meet those needs regularly.

This mutual aid of anarchist communism, this human generosity, is all around us, he argued. Free libraries, free schools and meals for children, open-to-all parks and gardens are arrangements founded on the principle: 'Take what you need.'

He wrote that the expropriation of wealth is basically the opposite of privatization, it's using property for public use or benefit.

He proposed volunteers to gather or document all the food, clothes, shelter, and goods and to give them freely to those who ask. If something is rare, it should be allocated on the basis of need.

Since most wealth comes from exploitation, the evil of the present system is therefore not that the 'surplus-value' of the production goes to the capitalist, the evil lies in the possibility of a surplus-value existing in the first place.

He believed that If we build a society with ample time for leisure, where work shifts last for 4 hours, where everyone's needs are met and where work is more enjoyable, people would then of course put in the necessary amount of effort needed to maintain such a society.

Unjust hierarchies and ridiculous remuneration are the reasons for many selfish, lazy, reluctant, and resistant behaviour we see in our society today.

He argued that anarchy is a vision of an 'ideal society', but it's not a 'utopia' because it is based on the study of tendencies already emerging in the evolution of

society, rather than being based solely on what the writer finds desirable from a theoretical point of view.

The revolution would not spontaneously come out of nowhere, but out of a prior evolutionary phase, during which workers would be transformed through their direct struggles against capitalism.

Anarchists should focus on participating in labour unions in order to spread anarchist values, goals, and strategy; look at anarcho-syndicalism.

He advocated that workers from all trades should be united under the single purpose of waging war on capitalist exploitation, and this must be prosecuted tirelessly, day by day, by the strike, by agitation, by every revolutionary means.

Direct democracy is an anarchist value, and elections can be democratic in practice.

It's true that most elections are unfair, undemocratic, or downright contested in some countries, and in some labour unions in fact, but we should keep voting and try to make them more transparent, fair, and actually representative. We should make democracy possible.

Furthermore, I agree with Kropotkin's views on the eventual abolition of money, or tokens of exchange, for goods and services, and with his criticism on Bakunin's collectivist economic model.

The institution of wage labour is based on the power employers exert over employees, and bourgeois states form the protection of private ownership of productive resources. These power imbalances need to be abolished.

Capitalism is inherently hierarchical; that means that power imbalances are ingrained in the system since its inception, and if wage-labour didn't exist capitalism wouldn't either. Serfdom was never really eliminated in fact, it just changed modes.

The function of the State is what makes or breaks it. If the state is oppressive, we smash it; if it protects us, then we re-imagine it, and transcend it.

If a state-like entity exerts a humane authority over the populace, then freedom, liberty, voluntary accord, etc., are possible.

By humane authority, I mean an authority that exists to serve the collective well-being, and is directly and swiftly recallable.

This authority isn't used to maximize or protect production or wealth, but rather seeks to maximize people's happiness. This authority is used to protect and improve people's lives, and therefore, their material conditions.

Errico Malatesta on Towards Anarchism argued that anarchy is a society based on free and voluntary accord. A society in which no one can force their wishes on another, in which everyone can do as they please, and together all will voluntarily contribute to the well-being of the community.

He made clear that anarchy doesn't mean that we recognize and wish to respect the 'freedom' to exploit, to oppress, to command, to murder, or to steal. This is oppression and most certainly not freedom, he noted.

He believed that the full achievement of anarchy requires that all people will not only not want to be commanded, but will not want to command as well.

The free and voluntary accord of individuals and the full development of egalitarian ideas require education, time and the elimination of patriarchal and capitalist oppression.

These are the prerequisites for the existence of the authority I mentioned, and it will be possible, in my opinion, only when we are capable of respecting the value of all life.

Malatesta wrote that such a significant transformation of individuals, and the social structures they constitute, would take an extended amount of time to achieve.

Given this, he thought that the society immediately after the revolution will not be anarchy yet; that the development towards full anarchy will be a product of peaceful evolution until it embraces all humankind, and all life's manifestations.

Electoral politics doesn't really have the ability to transform society in revolutionary ways, because the elected persons don't act in support of working-class/marginalized peoples' interests.

Malatesta in 1887 put it best: "Why go through the intermediary of elected persons who, once elected, do as they see fit, instead of directly demanding and claiming those improvements from the masters?"

On An Anarchist Programme he argues that the masters 'freed' the slaves without giving them the means of life, he argued, and as a result, humans were obliged to have recourse to the land owners and work for them on their terms.

Thus, step by step, through wars, revolutions, and oppressions, we have arrived at the current state of society, in which some have inherited land and all social wealth, and most are exploited and oppressed.

From all this stems the misery in which most people live today, and which in turn creates all evils such as crime, depression, etc., he noted.

He believed that the clergy was created by a series of fables about the will of God and about the afterlife, and that it seeks to persuade the oppressed to accept oppression meekly, and, just as the government does, to serve the interests of the ruling class and to serve its own as well.

The patriotic spirit, wars, and armed 'peace' also stem from this system that turned love into hatred, and rivalry.

Subsequently, in my view, if the state doesn't serve the interests of the ruling class, but it instead serves the people, we can continue to grant its authority up to a point.

Which isn't the case right now - today the state uses physical and economic violence to oppress people.

Malatesta argued that there aren't clear-cut divisions between individuals or between classes, which is somewhat true under late-stage capitalism.

The working class includes the middle class and the unemployed, imo, and the bourgeoisie, i.e. the capitalists, includes the means-of-production-holders, and the rest of the owners of large amount of capital and wealth.

The distinction between these two classes is big, but the distinction among the subsections of each individual class is minuscule. The oppression they face is similar, or the interests they serve are.

When it comes to violence, things get a little more complicated. He held that the main plank of anarchism is the removal of violence from human relations, and that violence is the essence of every authoritarian system. This thesis finds me in agreement, but he didn't oppose violence completely.

He argued that those who benefit from existing privileges, and who today dominate and control all social life, will oppose the creation of a free society with brute force, propaganda, and economic force.

The ruling classes have police forces, a judiciary, and armies created for the purpose of protecting their privileges, after all. They persecute, imprison, and massacre, and no oppressed class has ever managed to

emancipate itself without recourse to violence, he elaborated.

No oppressed class has ever been truly liberated, and because of this, the masses must rise up and engage in violent action which isn't the result of their free choice, but it's imposed upon them by necessity in the defence of unrecognized human rights which are thwarted by brute force, he wrote.

I disagree with the strict association of violence and revolution, because the only moral use of violence I can imagine is in defence of your life or someone else's life.

The legitimacy of use of defensive violence includes the need and therefore right of a slave to be emancipated, the right to a life-saving medication, the right to protect your life or your loved one's life, the right of a person to defend themselves from being murdered by the police, etc.

People need to protect themselves and others from immediate harm, and most states suppress a million peaceful revolutions violently every day.

In Joyful Militancy, Carla Bergman and Nick Montgomery argue that the Empire, for its part, responds to resurgent movements and uprisings by deploying ever more sophisticated forms of repression and control.

When BLM protestors are being attacked by the police, the fact that some people loot a large retailer should be viewed under the broader social context. The protestors don't have the goal of taking lives, the police do.

Protesters face economic, and other forms, of violence, and their grievances are never addressed, they're instead gassed and beaten. This is what we should focus on.

Similar instances of revolutionary violence, like property destruction, are considered understandable to some extent in my book.

Malatesta's next quote sums up this point: "Revolutionary violence must not therefore be ethically evaluated in the abstract, but instead be judged relative to the violence perpetuated by those institutions which revolutionaries seek to abolish".

When all other forms of protest go ignored or punished, only property destruction remains.

He operated in a different and even more brutal time, though. Humanity was suffering much more intensively, wars were rampant on the European continent, armed gangs were killing people on the streets, 'revolutions' in other countries had massacred people, etc.

This state of things has lasted from time immemorial, and without a revolution it would last indefinitely. Every day that it delays means an enormous mass of suffering inflicted on mankind, he argued.

Revolution is historically the way through which the system changes, but we should not employ violence, except in defence. Protecting and preserving all life is the utmost goal.

The disrespect for human life is a common feature of all fascist ideologies, and it results in unimaginable cruelty and broader systemic consequences.

Many tyrants think their atrocities are justified if they're done in defence of their ideology, but in truth, human life is of the highest value and war is an abhorrent practice.

For example, warhawking, contrary to the stated aims of 'removing despots', merely reinforces ultranationalist and other extremely reactionary sentiments, increasing support for groups like ISIS, since such ideologies are sold as necessary to fight against all the horrible things the US has done.

Confucius said that 'Before you embark on a journey of revenge, dig two graves.' If you actually value peace, and pacifism, you shouldn't consider violence as a necessary factor of the revolution, but instead to consider it an action that is only used in defence, and brings you no joy - the threat of violence, and not its actual use is also effective.

Morality should be grounded in the actual conditions that we're acting in, and the means we employ should be those that circumstances make possible or necessary, but at the same time, we should place the value of life on the highest pedestal.

We should also be against the death penalty. 'Capital punishment', ironically named, is ineffective at the stated goals of deterrence, and even one false death sentence makes us all then complicit in an unjustifiable murder.

Malatesta stated that: "A liberating revolution cannot be born of massacre and terror, because these are the midwives of tyranny".

11| Nationalism, and Egoism

The instilment of highly nationalist and religious fundamentalist attitudes in society leads to the creation of violent and divisive attitudes that result in the oppression of minorities.

For example, the rise of nationalist attitudes that accompanied the rise of the Golden Dawn party in Greece gave rise to islamophobic hate crimes.

Capitalist, and fascist, propaganda construct a 'common enemy' like socialism, communism, terrorism, the immigrants, etc., and while doing so they cultivate racist, sexist, etc., sentiments.

The recent rise of anti-semitism in parallel with the rise of neo-fascism and various nationalisms are also indicative of this process.

Nationalism is a sentiment, and an ideology. One of the primary inspirations for nationalism is the presence of an 'other.' The 'other' is a common term in nationalist discourse, at it is usually the basis from which nationalism is mobilized.

Political, economic, or cultural discrimination and the day-to-day effect on an individual's quality of life is fundamental to the mobilization of nationalism.

These discriminations, and especially economic discrimination, enables violent nationalism.

State income inequality was found to be negatively correlated with voter turnout in the US (James K. Galbraith and Travis Hale, 2006).

Lower voter turnout indicates low participation by less privileged citizens, who are already at a disadvantage in terms of other forms of political participation, and unequal participation means unequal influence, especially when the only avenue voters have are neoliberal capitalist parties such as the DNC.

Since turnout is declining in most countries, and the interests of the lower classes can't be represented, people become disillusioned with democracy, and therefore, fascistic anti-democratic attitudes are boosted.

The failure of consecutive governments to heed popular demands simultaneously boosts a state of uncertainty and violence among the populace.

The fact that laws of economic 'restructuring' are voted in without broad consent, further elevates the disillusionment with democracy, and demoralisation.

The country of Jordan, for instance, is pursuing a neoliberal economic model under pressure from the West, and this has bred resentment as more of the population has been pushed down the social ladder by price hikes, the cutting of government subsidies for fuel, and the privatisation of public services. These policies have resulted in riots.

Ethnic nationalism encompasses nearly all the instigating roots at the core of nationalism, such as language, culture, religion, historical memory, and

ethnicity, stressing their importance to constructing and maintaining the 'nation' (Schrock-Jacobson, 2012).

Where injustices of all kinds via structural, political, socio-economic, and ethnic inequalities intersect with perceptual disparities and state obstinance, violent nationalist contention takes form.

The fact that these circumstances have occurred and caused conflict even before the birth of nationalism, indicate that the capacity for violence exists in nationalism as much as it exists in various other ideologies and political principles seen throughout history, see fascist ideologies like nazism.

As we've seen, the cultivation of fascistic attitudes, like ethnic nationalism and anti-democracy, are few of the ways in which capitalism recuperates and subjugates revolutionary leftist struggles.

Most nationalist ideas superstructures like the state and the school, and even religion, perpetuate rest and result in violence and bigotry, even when their roots are up to a point innocuous or even justified due to the oppression a nation has faced in the past.

Religion is the opium of the masses said Marx, and sometimes this opium is used as a tool of oppression and enforces bigotry. Religious fundamentalism is usually accompanied by ethnic nationalism, racism, homophobia, and misogyny.

Christianity, for example, was used to legitimize the state and monarch, to attack women and science, and to target other faiths and races by painting them as barbarians.

Religion and nationalism are closely linked, and if capitalism is embroiled in them the results can be devastating, just look at the Christian baptists, evangelicals and protestants that send money to the Israeli apartheid, or support Trump's far-right, the prosperity gospel, etc.

James Connolly, an Irish republican socialist and trade union leader who was executed by firing squad for his part in the Easter Rising against British rule in 1916, stated that nationalism without socialism – without a reorganisation of society on the basis of a broader and more developed form of that common property which underlay the social structure of Ancient Erin - is only national recreancy.

Take the example of the National Socialists in 1933 Germany. The capitalist mode of production was not transformed, in fact the nazis privatised many public enterprises.

Several banks, shipyards, railway lines, shipping lines, welfare organizations, and more were privatized. The Nazi government took the stance that enterprises should be in private hands wherever possible.

The fact that Nazism was a capitalist ideology in essence exacerbated its cruelty. Quotas needed to be met, workers had to be free-of-cost and expendable, the nation must acquire more resources. The Nazi Social Darwinism applies to race, and the capitalist to economic productivity.

The USSR wanted to increase economic productivity, as well, so the Gulags and violent class warfare against the kulaks became common policy.

Race, gender and class represent the three most powerful organising principals in the development of cultural ideology worldwide.

This is true to this day, and for profit-media, and other superstructures, perpetuate highly nationalist, religious and bigoted notions like islamophobia, racism, sexism, and homophobia mostly for profit. As a result, the violent disregard of human lives among the population takes effect.

Even tho each culture constructs views of race, gender and class differently, there's always some social

construction around these three particular differences and similarities, and thus far, that construction has almost always resulted in structural inequality.

The intersection of racial, and religious, hierarchies also oppress the Albanians in Greece, for instance - we've spoken about the hierarchies of whiteness and what they're contingent on in chapter 3.

The Albanians, even though present in Greece for a long time, are still thought of as others, as foreigners, and racial insults are thrown at them daily.

The best way of counter acting the division hegemonic culture perpetuates through the instilment of hierarchical power notions is to include diverse voices in our discussions. A muslim refugee escaping war has much to teach us all.

This is why I repeat ad nauseam that leftist revolutionary struggles should be intersectional, anarchist, and marxist.

They should include workers and marginalized people like people of colour, gay people, trans people, etc., be committed to peace, and respect the value of human life.

The problems with nationalism, and their intertwine with racism and sexism, highlighted above are systemic, and we can't deny the fact that electoral voting, even tho in need of reformation, can trigger a degree of systemic change.

Sexist, racist, and/or nationalist attitudes have been shown to have influenced voting decisions in the 2016 US presidential elections. Democratic decision making is informed by biases, and false consciousness.

The counteracting of bigoted attitudes is essential since they influence a range of social behaviours, and outcomes. These outcomes sometimes appear contradictory, or absurd, but we've seen how capitalist

recuperation further reinforces capitalism and authoritarianism.

Just look at the paradoxical effect of poc being included in white nationalist/supremacist circles because intersectional advocacies are not built in a united and coherent leftist movement.

The oppressed becoming the oppressors due to the instilment of capitalist, nationalist, racist and sexist sentiments, even in defence, is also evident in modern-day Israel.

There's a degree of gender segregation in orthodox Judaist communities and religious fundamentalism is a big reason for this, but fascism and capitalism also tend to perpetuate 'time-tested' roles and traditions since all hierarchical systems are inherently authoritarian and bigoted.

The oppression of Palestinians by Israel is well known and acknowledged by the UN. Zionist nationalism is religious fundamentalist, sexist, racist, islamophobic, fascistic, and it oppresses poc.

Naomi Wimborne-Idrissi, the media officer of the Jewish Voice for Labour (JVL), an organisation formed in 2017 for Jewish members of the UK Labour party, has noted that the Jewish people should be with the side of the oppressed and not with the oppressor. She proclaimed that being anti-Israel doesn't mean being antisemitic.

Israel is a country, and being Jewish is much more than that. It's a religion in one context, and a culture & a set of peoples in another, she noted.

Jewish people should face the hard reality that the Israeli state genocides people and colonises their land.

Islamophobia and racism against arabs, middle eastern people, muslims, and others, is sustained to a large extent also due to Israeli nationalism / Zionism,

and this has nothing to do with antisemitism, it's just a fact.

The Palestinians, a people with rich linguistic, artistic, and spiritual histories, have been the victims of genocide, ethnic cleansings, islamophobia, racism, fascism, and of course imperialist capitalism. The Israeli state itself sprung out of oppression and violence.

We have explained how authoritarian and totalitarian nationalism fosters violence and oppression, but highly individualist capitalist philosophies, like liberalism and libertarianism, also result in oppressive practices, see chapters 1 and 7.

So this is a good point, I think, to address one of the biggest individualist philosophies in the history of Anarchism, egoism.

Max Stirner was a 19th century individualist anarchist who formulated egoism, and in the book: The ego and Its Own introduced a term he named Eigenheit (Ownness or autonomy).

He claimed that ownness is not in any sense an idea like freedom, morality, humanity, etc., that it is only a description of the owner.

I would like to supplement this term with something I call 'Freiheit'; it means liberty and political freedom in German, and it can be best understood as freedom/liberty, political conscience, and civic responsibility. Freiheit is the individual freedom that acknowledges the collective freedom.

Your ownness reflects your individuality up to a point, and individuality has limits. A person's individuality shouldn't be stifled, but it also shouldn't cause harm to others. It should work in harmony with freiheit.

Max Stirner called for a Union of Egoists to replace the State, and formulated a criticism of it, but he did not principally oppose it.

He wrote: "I annihilate it (the state) and form in its place the Union Of Egoists." It seems that he didn't want to literally destroy the state as an institution, but as an idea, a principle, and to eventually transform it.

This is something that shows that some anarchists are, in fact, welcoming of a state that isn't a state, but a non-state - a state that transforms into a structure which respects an individual's autonomy, but also strives for the well-being of the community.

Stirner furthermore claimed that the 'true man' does not lie in the future, but in the present, which is kind of a self-centered and destructive way of thinking. If you don't care about your future, then you don't really have any; you just live in a never-ending present.

He wrote that a person is a moral egoist when they ought to act in their own self-interest, and a rational egoist when they act in order to maximize their self-interest - capitalists do resemble rational egoists at times.

Stirner does accept that people can behave in altruistic ways, but only if an individual concludes that altruism is in his or her own interest.

It's not irrational to act altruistically, especially when you care about the collective well-being of a community at your own peril. Humans have evolved to protect their community from threats, after all.

I understand the need of viewing unfairness or trauma as a normal part of life. As something that makes you stronger by claiming every man for himself is the human nature, but this isn't true.

When you're taking care of someone and you don't get a 'thank you' in return, it can be mentally exhausting and emotionally debilitating, sure.

Not being appreciated / acknowledged sucks, and fosters resentment. This is why we should recognize and

communicate our feelings instead of being self-absorbed or egotistical.

Altruism is not illogical tho. It's logical to an extent and is also emotional, most people will, for example, give money at some point to an unhoused person because they're good people, without expecting anything in return, *and* will feel good about that. This attitude is found all around us.

"I feel, therefore I am" is something I say, and I believe it applies here. Feelings such as kindness are very much a logical/rational response of our primate brains, and in my view, mutual interest is self interest in many cases.

The notion of the self refers to a person's experience as a single, unitary, autonomous being that is separate from others, experienced with continuity through time and space.

The experience of the self includes one's physicality as well as one's inner character and emotional life. We experience ourselves *and* the external world, though.

One's self affects the self of others, and therefore the external world, and when the self is amoral, then it's a moral nihilist, a fatalist, which is related to false consciousness and capitalist realism. To deny our interconnectedness is to deny ourselves.

Stirner claims that the egoist, before whom the humane shudder, is a geist (ghost/phantasm) as much as the devil is: he exists only as a boogie and phantasm in their brain, but for the egoist everything is a geist.

The geist is therefore any concept or social construct that people act as though it really existed. Most geists exist though, and have material effects - some laws and policies by the state, for example, actively hurt people as we speak.

When it comes to the revolution, Stirner clearly states that his object is not an overthrow of the established

order but his elevation above it; his purpose and deed are not political or social but (as directed toward himself and his 'ownness' alone), an egoistic purpose indeed.

Replacing the ruling class with ourselves isn't a noble goal, and using 'the revolution' to achieve this can never be altruistic, or serve the individual, or the community.

Remember here that it's almost impossible to completely disagree or agree with every opinion a theorist has, and that questioning or restructuring ideas is healthy, and in fact necessary for our evolution and the revolution.

Freedom of speech and open conversations are quintessential leftist values, and this is exactly what the right used to push their bigoted pro-capitalist viewpoints, under the appearance of a free and open 'debate'.

Building leftist unity, and subsequently the deradicalization of reactionaries, should be based upon similar values and not antithetical ones. We should unite under common goals and strategies, and we should of course discuss with each other, especially when disagreements arise.

But we shouldn't disregard intersectionality or anti-fascism as divisive when in truth, their exclusion is what breeds the division among leftists. If systemic, and individual, bigotry isn't addressed, fascistic attitudes are fostered.

Just look at the alt-right pipeline that turned average centrists like socdems into fascists. In other instances, through similar pipelines, anarchists became socdems because of defeatist interpretations of capitalist realism, and free market fetishization.

The same happened with communists that turned into fascists because of capitalist realism, and unaddressed bigotry.

This is why we must again categorically state that leftism is in fact anti-capitalist, *and* intersectional. This means that leftism is anti-authoritarian and anti-fascist, as well.

These pipelines have been really effective because the opposition to feminism is accompanied by the propagation of dangerous viewpoints, such as fascism and its cousin, 'anarcho'- capitalism.

Anarcho-capitalism advocates the abolition of the state and the unfettered operation of capitalism. It supports the complete elimination of the state in favour of self-ownership, private property & free markets.

Police, courts & all security would be operated by privately funded competitors selected by consumers.

Since self-ownership and private property in anarchocapitalism refer to the ownership of the means of production and their operation for profit, and the free markets it advocates are the unregulated laissez-faire concept, then anarchocapitalism is simply unchecked wild capitalism.

Which means that if implemented we'd have unimaginable tyranny of private institutions. Advocating for anarchocapitalism is a form of blatant capitalist propaganda.

Capitalism is a cruel, violent and ineffective system. It's authoritarian and bigoted, and it preys on the ignorance most people have about its history and processes.

It exploits people's love of country and breeds resentment and violence. It makes you into an egoist, and as Stirner said, before the egoist the humane shudder.

12| Intersectional, Green, and Anarchist

Emma Goldman was a late 19th / early 20th century anarchist, political activist, and writer. She played a pivotal role in the development of anarchist political philosophy and anarcho-feminism.

Goldman was imprisoned several times, including for illegally distributing information about birth control.

In Anarchism and Other Essays, she argued that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

I disagree with Emma on the inevitability of abolishing the government. The Government/State can be functionally obviated if what we obviate is the violence and oppression it inflicts.

This is possible if the decision-making process is representatively democratic (not as in 'representative democracy', but as in actual representation in a directly democratic system, i.e. direct democracy), especially if the bureaucratic function is fast, efficient and without corruption - automation of some state functions will also help with that.

If the populous/populace (not merely citizenry) constituted a state structure based on dual power, mutual aid, addressing people's material needs, etc., without unjust hierarchies and authoritarianism, then this structure could be called anarchist communist.

The definition of the word hierarchy indicates that it is inherently unjust, but some justified hierarchies do exist.

Justified hierarchies are typically voluntary, horizontal, time constrained, beneficial to subordinate side, and necessary for performance.

They refer to organizational structures, and therefore any/all hierarchy should constantly justify itself. As an example, a manager of sorts could be directly recallable by the workers.

One of the biggest forms of unjustified hierarchy is class, and the assignment of people to classes is, as we've seen, according to the amount of capital, wealth, or income they have. This oppression needs to be addressed, and we must propose solutions.

Wealth and income equality should be achieved, their perpetuation causes high rates of many social and health problems. Power imbalances and poverty have been shown to have severe effects on mental health issues, for instance.

Classism is a form of oppression. The biggest evil today is an economic one, and the solution of that evil rests on the individual, the collective, the internal, as well as the external.

The strongest tool we have for the achievement of social and individual harmony is to build class consciousness, and democratic consciousness. If we understand that capitalism and fascism thrive on disregard and division, we will understand that we are *all* necessary and vital for the functioning of society.

Emma Goldman wrote that there is no conflict between the individual and the social instincts any more than there is between the heart and the lungs.

Anarchism is the great liberator of people from the phantoms that have held them captive; it is the arbiter and pacifier of the two forces for individual and social harmony.

Goldman argued that the most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime. State is itself the greatest criminal, breaking every written and natural law, and killing in the form of war and capital punishment.

Most people are out of place doing the things they hate to do, living a life they loathe to live, she writes.

As a result, crime is inevitable, and all the laws and statutes can only increase, but never do away with crime, she noted. She was an anarcho-communist, and argued that the General Strike is the supreme expression of the economic consciousness of the workers, and direct action has been proven effective.

She made clear that no real social change has ever come about without a revolution, and revolution is just thought carried into action. Goldman also noted that it is not at all surprising that every act of political violence is attributed to Anarchists.

It's a known fact that a great number of acts, for which Anarchists had to suffer, either originated with the capitalist press or were instigated, if not directly perpetrated, by the police.

This is something I've experienced myself in Greece. Anarchists were constantly imprisoned, tortured by police, and their reputations were tarnished by the media.

Furthermore, because of the anarchist opposition to the state, most of them didn't even bother to testify.

Thankfully, they do testify now, so the revolution will resume shortly.

Compared with the wholesale violence of capital and government, political acts of violence are but a drop in the ocean, Emma Goldman underlined, and advocated that anarchism values human life above all things, though.

All anarchists agree with Tolstoy in this fundamental truth: if the production of any commodity necessitates the sacrifice of human life, society should do without that commodity, but it can not do without that life. As I've mentioned in previous chapters, violence becomes unjustified when it moves away from self-defence.

In the next chapters, Goldman argued that a woman must first assert herself as a personality, and not as a sex commodity, and she also defended sex workers.

She argued that a woman should refuse the right to anyone over her body; by refusing to bear children, unless she wants them; by refusing to be a servant of God, the State, society, the husband, the family, etc.

We will have to do away with the absurd notion of the dualism of the sexes, or that man and woman represent two antagonistic worlds, she wrote.

Emma Goldman advocated that marriage is primarily an economic arrangement, an insurance pact about protection.

She wrote: "Some day, some day, men and women will rise; they will reach the mountain peak; they will meet big and strong and free, ready to receive, to partake, and to bask in the golden rays of love". These words inspired tons of anarchist, communist, and feminist literature.

In the chapter 'Prisons: A Social Crime and Failure', her arguments focus on prison, police and military structures.

She states that economic, political, moral, and physical factors are the microbes of crime, but the methods of coping with it are still all based on the primitive motive of revenge punishment towards the offender.

She argued that there is not a single penal institution or reformatory in the United States where men are not tortured.

Goldman also noted that the enormous profits from convict labour are a constant incentive to the contractors, and they punish their victims cruelly when their work does not come up to the excessive demands. Her anarchist critiques go out to patriotism as well.

She heavily criticized patriotism, and stated that those who have had the fortune of being born on some particular spot consider themselves better than the living beings inhabiting any other spot.

Patriotism requires allegiance to the flag, which means obedience and readiness to kill father, mother, brother, sister.

Every intelligent man and woman knows, however, that we don't need a standing army, this is a myth maintained to frighten and coerce us, she wrote.

This also applies to the existence of the police. The stated goal of protecting and serving the public is very different from what they actually do, and why they were created in the first place.

Historically speaking, the police institution is deeply rooted in colonialism and white supremacy - it's also inseparable from the capitalist structure. When the police were first established in the US, virtually all officers were drawn from the military.

As early as 1906, the police were already shooting labour strikers and escaping accountability.

Policing in the South of the United States emerged from the slave patrols in the 1700s and 1800s that caught, and returned, runaway slaves.

Kamau Walton states that policing is meant to be a tool to maintain the status quo and keep people in line, and Pinkertons were another (privatized) example of this. If you can't be kept in line you go into a cage, or you die.

The police are not actually broken because it's not about crime-fighting, it's about containment and control. The vast majority of police officers make one felony arrest a year, like robberies or serial killers. If they make two, they're cop of the month.

Moreover, there have been numerous sexual assaults that were allowed to happen in police custody or prison, and some were even committed by officers themselves.

Various studies show that police sexual violence is widespread, and that the incidents often begin with traffic stops.

In addition, recently released data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics suggest that rape allegations have soared since the PREA (Prison Rape Elimination Act) was developed in 2012.

This is not to imply incident rates spiked necessarily, but that reports of violence that will go unheard are often not made. Also, when people feel more comfortable reporting crimes, reporting crimes increases.

'Abolish the police' as a slogan is very much appropriate, as is ACAB. It would be more relevant to state that reform is part of abolition, and that All Cops Are Bastards Because Capitalism, or ACAB Because Hierarchical Power Corrupts People, but writing on walls needs to happen fast.

Police reform and abolition is a vast process, and requires the creation of policing alternatives,

deconstruction of preconceived notions of policing, engaging in practices which reduce their power and legitimacy/necessity, such as defunding the police, demilitarization, discontinuing 'warrior training' in favour of civil service and crisis training, etc.

There's a movement of people supporting these ideas in the US, and it's been growing since the murder of George Floyd by the Chicago police. Slogans like ACAB, F*ck the Police, and Abolish the Police are being used as the unofficial mottos of this movement.

Marbre Stahly-Butts and Rachel Herzing in Abolition is Liberation argue that the reason alternative systems to policing aren't widely accepted is because they aren't given the time and space to evolve.

Hiring more black police officers helps, but that's just a drop in the ocean, especially if they're enforcing the same racist policies.

Reform options should include the proposal of body cameras for the police, without building wealth for the less-lethal weapons industry, and at the same time providing material relief to those impacted by police violence.

Defunding the police can be considered as a step towards abolition, by allocating these funds to community-oriented investments.

We can create safe spaces, put money in education and healthcare, provide access to good food, affordable housing, etc.

The funds we free up can be diverted to other initiatives to reduce crime, and therefore the need for policing, like programs dealing with mental health, disabilities, homelessness, and drug addiction.

Anarchists believe in cooperation rather than competition, direct action rather than meekly accepting authority, and mutual aid rather than policing. These are the basis of the anarchist system of social peace.

'Criminals' that must be isolated from the community to protect society &/or themselves must be treated humanely, and during their incarceration should receive the mental health care they require.

Most crime is caused by socioeconomic factors, and this is why the underlying material conditions of the public must be addressed first. This way, future societies will experience crime in far lesser numbers than us; this is just common sense.

Popular tribunals and neighbourhood militias are dangerous and ineffective in many cases imo. You can't possibly arm every random person illiterate in de-escalation techniques, but the populace can revoke officers at will, given that the courts are also completely revised.

A theoretical 'police' will mostly resemble social services providers, and all forms of state authorities won't employ physical violence.

The authority of the police should be subject to live revisions constantly. The officers who don't want to be educated so as to serve the common good will simply be replaced - I'll further expand on the concept of authority in a later chapter.

Conflict resolution will be handled by community service officers who will be part of social care services. The ideal future community service officers will not carry guns and will be accountable to the public, not to mention that they won't be really present.

All these changes wouldn't happen overnight, but protests around the world show that enough people have understood that they can be free AND safe at the same time.

This brings us to another really difficult topic: prison abolition. Prison as the institution we know today first made its appearance in the United States around the time of the American Revolution. It was based on the

replacement of capital and corporal punishment by incarceration.

Michel Foucault argued that incarceration did not become the principal form of punishment just because of the humanitarian concerns of reformists, but also because these disciplines were really convenient for the ruling class.

The technological powers that shaped this change can be found in places such as schools, hospitals, and military barracks, he noted.

The aspect of instilling fear in the public to prevent revolutionary sentiments exists today, especially in the United States, but the disciplinary action taking place currently is different.

The prison system uses this fear to their advantage on the one hand, and on the other they advocate for reformation at times, which is actually good when sincere.

Neoliberal social policies do help, but the amount of slave labour in prisons really shows the fetishization of punishment, the capitalist finger behind it, and the fact that the state is tolerating and incentivizing it.

The 13th amendment abolished slavery 'except as punishment for crime', after all, and if you factor in the massive over-policing and the 'war on drugs', then you can understand why the historian Adam Jay Hirsch points out that there are many similarities between the penitentiary system and chattel slavery.

Both systems isolate people, confine them to a fixed habitat, and frequently coerce them to perform physical labour, often for longer hours and for less compensation. It is not coincidental, of course, that over-policing and tougher sentencing affect the already-marginalized the most.

White supremacy is ingrained in the prison system, and the impact this has on communities of colour is well documented.

Gender oppression is also rampant, and women incarcerated in penal institutions experience sexual violence. Racism and sexism are commonplace among prisons, see the sexual violence against trans women, or the high incarceration rates of black and latinx men, for example.

Moreover, we've basically come to a point where longer prison terms mean greater profits - the profit motive promotes the expansion of imprisonment. Horrifically enough, the privatization model is rapidly becoming the primary mode of organizing punishment in many countries.

Prisoners need unions too; how else will they fight for their rights that are being curtailed by systemic violence?

Private prisons are direct sources of profit for the companies that run them. We should conceive different ways of reforming prisons humanely, and support electoral attempts to facilitate that, but we should eventually move towards abolishing them.

The prison industrial complex includes transnational corporations, media conglomerates, guards' unions, and legislative and court agendas. Prisons won't be necessary if the underlying factors that contribute to the emergence of crime are eliminated.

Demilitarization of schools, revitalization of all education, a health system that provides free physical and mental care to all, and a justice system not based on retribution and vengeance are what we support. This means that even minor-attracted people should be reformed.

Other preliminary steps include decriminalizing softer drugs, criminalizing the buying of sex, and legalizing undocumented immigrants.

It's a shameful reality when women from South American countries, or countries from the Soviet bloc, or East Asia, are imprisoned because they've entered a country to escape sexual violence.

I'd like to point out here, that violence against women is a pervasive and complicated problem that cannot be solved by just imprisoning women who fight back against their abusers, providing mental health care is also vital.

We have to understand that the prison industrial complex is linked to the agendas of politicians, the profit motive of corporations, and media representations of crime.

It's also one of the ways in which white supremacy is being maintained so any solution that doesn't include this is simply misinformed. There's a highly racialized aspect to incarceration.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 2013, black males accounted for 37% of the total male prison population, despite making up 14% of the total U.S. population.

The aforementioned fact has severe implications for the black community, and police brutality categorically facilitated and encouraged this.

Reagan's 'tough on crime' policies, 'three-strikes' provisions, etc., are further examples of the oppression black people have faced, and continue to face.

I have to be really blunt here, law enforcement and the legal system essentially continue slavery, lynching, and segregation. These tactics are used against most people of colour.

Consider the mass arrests and detention of people of Middle Eastern, South Asian, or Muslim heritage in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks in 2001.

The leftist movement that calls for the abolition of prisons and the police, like the Antifa activists, are thus antiracist, anticapitalist, antisexist, antihomophobic, antislamophobic, antitransphobic, antiableist, etc.

Anarchocommunists call for the abolition of prisons, and at the same time recognize the need for genuine solidarity with the millions of incarcerated men, women, nonbinary adults, and children.

Anarchocommunists want to abolish prisons, and replace them with humane holistic health facilities that also treat mental health issues that will be rendered almost obsolete in the future.

Hell, Bentham's Panopticon was designed to be run for profit, and we can see that while ostensible reforms have been made to the US prison system, incarceration largely serves to maintain cisheteropatriarchal white supremacy.

Don't forget that for-profit incarceration of overpoliced minority communities adds to the inability of the minority portion of the population to build generational wealth.

Abolishing the police and prisons are intersectional anarchist goals, as is supporting protesters.

Climate protesters specifically, have been getting arrested for a long time, look at the extinction rebellion, Greenpeace, and pipeline 3 activists that are being targeted by the state.

Capitalists need to muddle and curtail people's engagement in political actions that threaten their profit-making ability, see how they tried to make the public disregard climate change because they want to continue making money from fossil fuels.

Dealing with the effects of climate change due to capitalism is an anarchocommunist position, and is also one of the main planks of green anarchism.

Murray Bookchin, who heavily influenced green anarchism, for instance, has authored many books explaining his own ecological anarcho-communalism.

He was a political philosopher, among many things, and he developed the theory of social ecology within anarchist and socialist philosophy.

He also founded his own ideology, called 'communalism', which seeks to reconcile communist and anarchist thought.

After seeing the upcoming ecological destruction, Bookchin argued that we don't have the time for reforms; the only way of survival is through anarchist revolution.

In his book: Post-Scarcity Anarchism, he declared that we're no longer faced with the choice of socialism or barbarism; we are confronted with the more drastic alternatives of anarchism or annihilation.

He also criticized the homogeneity and simplification of production under capitalism, like copypasted art, same designs in clothes, etc., and noted that the balance in nature is achieved through variation, complexity, and diversity instead.

The liberation of the self involves a social process. In a society that has shrivelled the self into a commodity - into an object manufactured for exchange - there can be no fulfilled self, he continued.

He believed there should be a harmonization between humans and nature, and that the profit motive has pitted us against each other, and against the natural world.

The only real choice that we have is whether the earth can survive its looting long enough for us to

replace the current destructive social system with a humanistic, ecologically-oriented society.

Bookchin resonates with green anarchists but he wasn't an anarcho-primitivist. He said that he didn't want to surrender the gains of agriculture and mechanization, but instead that the earth must be cultivated as a garden, in a truly ecological sense.

Furthermore, in an article found later in the book, he states that we must explore three questions.

These are: What is the liberatory potential of modern technology, both materially and spiritually? What tendencies, if any, are reshaping the machine for use in an organic, human oriented society? How can the new technology and resources be used in an ecological manner? Important questions, indeed.

He argued that we should see our dependence on nature all around us; it should be a living, visible part of our culture, and exclaimed that when mass production became the predominant mode of production, humans became an extension of the machine.

Bookchin, in the chapter 'The Forms of Freedom', was critical towards some forms of workers councils, as well. He argued that if structures exist that inhibit open relationships, either by coercion or mediation, then freedom will not exist, whether there is 'worker management of production' or not.

He made clear that the factors which undermined the assemblies of classical Athens and revolutionary Paris require very little discussion; they were broken up by the development of class antagonisms.

He therefore argues that we should build a movement looking at the present instead of the past. We must transcend Marx's dialectical analysis, just as Marx himself transcended Hegel, bourgeois economics, and Blanqui.

We shouldn't fetishize the worker's 'workerness'. Young workers now smoke pot, fuck off on their jobs, drift in and out of factories, grow long or longish hair, demand more leisure rather than more pay, steal, harass authority, etc., he argues.

Many workers are also incarcerated, and, as we've seen, capitalism exploits prison labour.

Not to mention the fact that ex-prisoners often face employment discrimination when they search for work after completing their punishment. We must finally transcend rigid views about labour and workers.

Social revolutions are not just made by small groups, they occur as a result of deep-seated historic forces, and contradictions that activate large sections of the population, such as the class struggle.

Most oppressions are also interconnected, part of the lgbtq minority is also part of the work force, for example.

Historically, different revolutionary social movements happen alongside, follow, or inspire each other. Art movements usually follow similar patterns.

Expressionism, for instance, developed as a style before the First World War, and remained popular during the German revolution of 1918-1919 until the middle or so of the Weimar Republic.

It extended to a wide range of the arts, including architecture, painting, literature, theatre, dance, film and music.

Leftist political, intellectual and artistic struggles against oppression always informed each other. As another example, the stonewall riots inspired pride parade, and queer art uses intersectional themes.

We're all surrounded by the same patriarchal capitalist structure that manufactures culture, and at the same time, many of us also produce culture.

We need to build solidarity, and not division. Pride as a form of protest has a way to go still, but participating in it is still empowering and non-conforming.

It helps us create a united anti-patriarchal and anti-capitalist front. This is why, in my view, labour unions should march in solidarity with lgbtq people.

When I visited France, I understood that anarchists and liberals have some similarities, especially middle class people.

Liberalism in the French revolution started as a radical political philosophy that opposed monarchism and included socialists.

Since then unfortunately, liberalism moved away from leftism, and embraced the liberal economic ideology, i.e. the capitalist worldview.

Michail Bakunin argued that liberty is a feature of interaction, not of isolation. The freedom of an individual is contingent on the attitudes that shape society. Humans and their society shape one another.

Murray Bookchin, in his magnum opus: The Ecology of Freedom wrote that homo sapiens has slowly and painstakingly developed from the natural world into the social world of their own.

He discussed human desire and need, and argued that since nature also includes human beings, science must include humanity's role in the natural world.

He noted that Marx tried to root humanity's identity and self-discovery in its productive interaction with nature, and added that not only does humanity place its imprint on the natural world and transform it, but also nature places its imprint on the human world and transforms us as well.

To quote him directly: "It is not only we who 'tame' nature, but also nature that 'tames' us."

Natural history is also human history, and though unjustifiable hierarchy does exist in present-day society,

the maintenance of it threatens the existence of society itself, and threatens the integrity of organic nature, he noted. As a result, it can't remain a social fact any more.

He stated that competing elites vie for the support of a public, whose popular sovereignty is reduced to the pathetic right to participate in choosing the tyrant who will rule it.

People have become instruments of production, just like the tools and machines they create.

As a communalist, he analysed labour relations, and claimed that labour is both the medium whereby humanity forges its own self-formation, and the object of social manipulation.

Just as capitalism leads to production for the sake of production, so too does it lead to consumption for the sake of consumption, he wrote.

He argued that Marx's famous notion of the 'fetishization of commodities' finds its parallel in a 'fetishization of needs'. So, if the object of capitalism is to increase needs, the object of anarchism is to increase choices.

After a chapter about the evolution of primitive societies into the pre-industrial era, and how it relates to women's patriarchal oppression, which complements Lise Vogel's analysis beautifully, Bookchin argued that people are caught in a nexus of human domination.

He underlined that Biblical power is the mana that all masters can use against their slaves: ruler against ruled, man against woman, the elders against the young.

As I've mentioned, sexism and racism underline most authoritarian systems of government, like theocracies.

In fact, all religious fundamentalism is authoritarian, usually totalitarian, and rooted in bigotry. We observe this on the oppression ISIS inflicts on women and LGBTQ minorities.

Sexist attitudes have been oppressing women since the beginning of social organization, and they still continue, to a smaller extent, to this day. Half of the world population are women, and only a fraction of them hold positions of authority.

Neither Freud nor Marx alone have helped us fully understand the dialectic of civilization, Bookchin denoted.

By making self-repression (Freud) and self-discipline (Marx) the historic knout for achieving mastery over nature, they've made domination an indispensable phase or moment in this dialectic.

Biological determinism was also unhelpful, people are primarily the result of the social conditions under which they were nurtured, and imo, the perpetuation of these notions is one of the ways patriarchal capitalist structure survives despite its internal contradictions.

Bookchin wrote that we must make a distinction between social coercion and social influence though, because, like 'the market', the State knows no limits.

The revolution is thus confronted with the task of smashing the State and *reconstructing* its necessary administrative function along libertarian lines, he noted.

Bookchin then mentions that freedom doesn't seem to exist in organic society - the word is simply meaningless to many preliterate peoples. Organic society tends to operate unconsciously according to the equality of unequals.

In a later chapter, he argued that patriarchy ceased to be mere arbitrary authority, and became juridical authority that was answerable to certain precepts of right and wrong. From a tyrant, the patriarch became a judge and relied on guilt, not merely fear, to assert his authority.

Anarchism and revolutionary socialism profess to be concerned with freedom, but fascism is concerned with

neither justice nor freedom, merely with the instrumentalities of naked domination; its various ideologies are purely opportunistic, he underlined.

Furthermore, Bookchin explained that people who claim capitalism is a sophisticated substitute for medieval society make an arrogant presumption, and insult highly complex civilizations, both past and present.

After a criticism of Marx's theory of value, Bookchin writes that 'freedom' is still conceived as freedom from labour, not freedom for work. The Hellenic ideal of freedom was different, though - freedom existed for activity, not from activity.

He then makes abundantly clear that the environmentalist technocracy that's being promoted is, in reality, just a hierarchy draped in green garments. It's even more insidious because it's camouflaged in the colour of ecology, he argued.

We can see how capitalism is just rebranding as green capitalism, and attempting to present itself as sustainable.

Bookchin also emphasized that direct democracy is ultimately the most advanced form of direct action. I agree, and I would add that direct democracy that doesn't exclude the noncitizen should be a goal of revolutionary socialism, and pacifism. The non-violent consensus of the populace should be a leftist objective.

He proposes a future society that should be confederally integrated and communally-oriented, seeking to decentralize itself logistically and economically, hence the name anarcho-communalism.

We can indeed not choose a civilization that lives in hatred of the world around it and in grim hatred of itself, with gutted cities, wasted lands, and poisoned air and water.

Most of us don't want this end, but the problem isn't us, it is capitalism and its desire for shameless profiteering.

Because of it, the climate has changed, the earth is polluted, and entire species have gone extinct.

13| Utopianism, Centralization, and Authority

The centralization and decentralization of an organizational structure are not 'either-or' conditions.

In most countries an appropriate balance of centralization and decentralization is essential to the effective, and efficient functioning of government.

The authoritarianism and economic oppression of the state and government need addressing, and we've already proposed ways of doing that, so let's not over focus on the use of these terms, but let's instead address the type of organizational structure they can acquire.

We need to discuss the concept of efficiency regarding the production and allocation of goods and services, and what it entails.

Efficiency is the ability to avoid wasting materials, energy, efforts, money, and time in doing something or in producing a desired result. In a more general sense, it

is the ability to do things well, successfully, and without waste.

It is not a goal in itself, but it is something we should strive for in production and allocation. For example, we should find the most efficient ways to distribute goods globally so that our carbon footprint remains at the lowest possible level.

Efficiency should be judged by the environmental and human cost. We need to protect nature and reduce labour hours, and the same time engage in degrowth strategies and actually sacrifice consumer goods.

Not all countries can grow coffee, but humans will still want to consume it. Whereas there are many reasons for this, it still remains a fact.

If we could produce and distribute products ethically, then the underlying reasons for many consumer preferences would mostly be addressed.

That said, there are some goods, especially those wrapped in plastic, cheap mass-produced clothing, or non-vegan foods which must be phased out of production and consumption due to ethical reasons.

This is crucial. If the imperialist capitalist mode of production became socialist, and more globally decentralized, the major factors of material oppression would cease to exist.

At the same time, If we want to minimize human and environmental cost, and adopt an ethical production and distribution mode, the most efficient ways of doing that would tend towards the centralization of many administrative functions.

If a state owned the means of production, efficient global and local distribution that minimized energy footprint was commonplace, and capitalist social classes and other forms of oppression were eliminated, this state should be viewed positively.

A centralized health department would have more resources, opportunities, and tools to efficiently allocate the best possible health services to the majority of people, than several councils working together.

A technological innovation developed in another country that could save lives would be more efficiently distributed by a centralised government body, since global cooperation would be easier and faster.

Not all functions can or should be managed in a decentralized fashion. Even when anarchist collectives decentralize responsibilities, they often retain important planning and organizational roles.

They must create or maintain the enabling conditions that allow local units of administration, or non-government organizations, to take on more responsibilities. Anarchist collectives have, for a long time, employed centralization in communal organising.

There are many examples of anarchist collectives, see chapter 10 in regards to the Sogorea Te' land trust, that shift power from government and corporations to people and communities.

Just look at projects like free pantries and community fridges so the community can help feed itself, or free ride sharing networks so people can be safe while getting home.

Some non-profits have shown signs of mutual aid, albeit few so far, look at the network of collectives called food not bombs.

Cooperative business models can also have a positive outcome, provided they're non-stock, non-profit, and fully owned by workers.

Mutual aid is solidarity not charity, but the one doesn't exclude the other. There are many projects that build up resources and power outside of state or capitalist systems, and are a living of example of what it

looks like when a community takes care of itself without the need for governments or corporations.

The organizational structure of governments and states is oppressive, and in need of reformation, that's undeniable.

Most collectivized structures have a degree of centralization, tho, even libertarian collectives. In The Characteristics of the Libertarian Collectives, Gaston Leval writes that in juridical principles the collectives were something entirely new.

They were not syndicates, nor were they municipalities in any traditional sense; They did not even very closely resemble the municipalities of the Middle Ages.

Of the two, however, they were closer to the communal than the syndicalist spirit. Often they might just as well have been called communities, as for example the one in Binefar was, he notes.

The collective was an entity; within it, occupational and professional groups, public services, trade and municipal functions were subordinate and dependent. In forms of organization, in internal functioning, and in their specialized activities, however, they were autonomous.

Kropotkin criticizes the State for destroying historically important mutual aid institutions, particularly through the imposition of private property.

Wage labour also destroys the concept of mutual aid since it alienates us from each other, and from the product of our labour.

Most anarchist critiques argue that whereas the individual prefers participation, liberty and self-government, the organizational system of today demands hierarchy, central, authoritarian and totalitarian control and unquestioning obedience by its members.

Kropotkin in Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution argued that village communities constituted a new phase in the history of mankind and the development of forms of mutual aid.

These primitive communal societies came to a halt though when feudal lords enlarged their territories by force expelling a resident population to create a landless proletariat.

Primitive accumulation wasn't a peaceful process, and led to the modern capital accumulation. Possessors and non-possessors became the bourgeois and the proletariat.

Marx notes that the starting point of the development that gave rise to the wage labourer as well as to the capitalist was the servitude of the labourer, of the serf.

The advance consisted in a change of form of this servitude, in the transformation of feudal exploitation into capitalist exploitation.

Kropotkin argues that the huge organization to assure and extend the exploitation of the masses in favour of a few privileged groups, is the essence of the State institution.

The territorial and functional centralization, its pyramidal organization, its favouritism, and its role as the creator of monopolies had remained exactly the same, he adds.

Throughout history, Kropotkin differentiates between two opposing organizational tendencies.

On the one side there is the Roman, Imperial and authoritarian approach: centralist, hierarchical, working from the top to the bottom; organization as a pyramid of authority.

On the other side stands the popular, federalist and libertarian approach: decentralized, freely federated, functioning from the periphery to the centre; organization as a form of autonomy and self-regulation.

This last tendency leaned towards 'no-government', while the former was focused on state dominance. In the federalist tradition, organization was equated with the concept of anarchy.

Kropotkin also investigated the capitalist relations of production. The system of private property produced riches for the few, brought exploitation and poverty for the many, and thus led to unjust social inequality, he observed.

In his opinion, this situation was unacceptable from an ethical point of view: the means of production being the collective work of humanity, their product should be the collective property of the entire human race. Individual appropriation is neither just nor serviceable.

All belongs to all. All things are for all humans, since all humans have need of them, since all humans have worked in the measure of their strength to produce them, and since it is not possible to evaluate every one's part in the production of the world's wealth.

Kropotkin argued for the well-being of all by abolishing private property and the returning of land, machinery, factories, means of transportation, etc., into the hands of the *community*.

This would end the capitalist exploitation of labour, since both the means of production, and the goods produced, would become common property.

In his plans for the reconstruction of society, Kropotkin chose to abandon the traditional wage system. Since in the present state of industry every branch is completely interdependent, any attempt to identify an individual origin for products has become untenable.

His new freedom oriented society was based on the principle - 'to every man according to his needs'.

The final result would consist of an anarchist-communist society in which economic exploitation and

domination were abolished, and equal relations and feelings of solidarity would take their place.

Kropotkin was convinced that the resulting social equality would foster a new sense of justice, and raise the moral level of humanity, producing an unprecedented feeling of general well-being and harmony in society.

In a large portion of social anarchist literature, the reconstruction of society along community-oriented lines, and the abolishment of private property and wage labour, are the tools with which we can achieve social harmony and well-being.

As a tradition, social anarchism first emerged out of the wider socialist movement in the 1860s, with most of its foundational traits being developed within the First International out of the ideas of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, taken to a more collectivist direction by Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume, and later to a more communalistic direction by Peter Kropotkin, Élisée Reclus, and Emma Goldman.

It's clear that writers of the modern anarchist movement, the ones that never got tired of stating the social character of their ideas, could not be against organization, and in fact were never so.

They fought against the centralized structure of the State and Church, but all of them recognized the absolute need for an organized union of forces, and many found in federalism the most adequate structure for it. Proudhon's influence over the French workers' associations is widely known.

Rudolf Rocker in Anarcho-Syndicalism notes that the organization of Anarcho-Syndicalism is based on the principles of Federalism, on free combination from below upward, putting the right of self-determination of every member above everything else and recognizing only the

organic agreement of all on the basis of likes, interests and common convictions.

Anarchists like the Proudhonists, viewed historical developments like the Paris Commune, as the exemplification of collectivist individualism and federalism. For Bakuninists, on the other hand, it illustrated the necessity for the coup d'état, and insurrection.

Cooperative federations were viewed as a vehicle for revolutionary change. This is further exemplified in a meeting between Lenin and Kropotkin in 1918, for example.

Kropotkin kept talking about how in England and in Spain, cooperatives and cooperative federations had been established, and how the syndicalist movement in France was developing.

Anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-communism, collectivist and social anarchism, all advocate a degree of centralisation while objecting state structures based on authoritarianism and worker's exploitation. This theme is also evident in large parts of council communist literature.

Antonie Pannekoek, a council communist, in World Revolution and Communist Tactics, emphasized the importance of class consciousness among the masses, and deemed the avant-garde party model advocated by the Bolsheviks a potential obstacle to revolution.

In the council communists' view, revolution would involve the mass action of a vast majority of the working class. This was one of the principal points of divergence between the council communists and the Bolsheviks.

Mark Shipway in Council Communism notes that according to council communist theory, the workers' councils are revolutionary organisations, but they are not *permanent* mass organisations of the working class.

They emerge at times of intense political, social or economic crises when workers find themselves compelled to take matters into their own hands. Their sole purpose is to negate the authority of one class, and install the power of another over every aspect of society.

He underlines that if they do not succeed in this task, the councils usually disappear with the defeat of the movement which produces them; in other words, when their source and lifeblood, the initiative, vitality and creativity of the working class, is drained away.

The above is historically true, and as he explains, any attempt to maintain a permanent existence outside revolutionary periods changes the councils' nature: either they take on non-revolutionary functions (for example, negotiating with the ruling class 'on behalf of' the workers), or else they turn into small propagandist groups defending a political programme.

The organizational principles of worker's councils can be applied to more localized issues, as well.

David Van Deusen and the Green Mountain Anarchist Collective in The Strategy of Workers' Councils write that when all workers will have access to organized labour we can conceive of an issue coming up in the city which affects all, or a significant segment of the working class population on the local level.

When such issues occur, it is possible, given the general context outlined above, that all unions could be brought together in a general assembly of union members in order to address the issue.

They explain that the concept and practice of workers' councils has long been recognized by the revolutionary left as a powerful means to fight the forces of capital. Historically, workers' councils are directly democratic bodies of workers who come together at the shop level.

In principle, these councils are capable of taking over, democratizing, and coordinating industrial production without the exploitive presence of an authoritarian ruling class, they note.

Vadim Damier, in his scholarly history of 20th century Anarcho-syndicalism, described the typical anarchist view as one which rejected the capitalist division of labour based on specialized managerial hierarchy, and sought to replace it with freely associated groupings of producers collectively specialized, and thus involved in multiple functions.

As we've seen in chapter 4, medium-sized producers can be conditionally thought of as workers when their self-labour conditions resemble those of wage-labour, especially under late stage capitalism and state oppression.

These self-employed workers are also owners of a small amount of capital/means-of-production, and they labour.

Labour is the tool with which humanity forges its self-formation, and it includes the act of labour, and the labourers themselves. Owners of large amounts of capital, though, could never be conceived as labourers, even when they labour, but as the exploiters of labour.

Agrarian producers, for instance, include two different, and very distinct, categories. The capitalists who own large companies that deforest the Amazon for soy, and the farmers who own a few acres of land and grow potatoes. These two types of producers belong to two very different classes.

Gaston Leval in The Characteristics of the Libertarian Collectives writes that the agrarian collectives, despite their name, were to all intents and purposes libertarian communist organizations. They applied the rule 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.'

Where money was abolished, a certain quantity of goods was assured to each person; where money was retained, each family received a wage determined by the number of members. Though the technique varied, the moral principle and the practical results were the same, he explained.

M. Black in a c4ss article argued that a regional anarchist confederation may have a central body, and be effectively centralized.

Such a structure, they continued, would not be usurping control over local issues from member organizations, nor would it be dictating anything to them.

A flexible enough federation could define such centralized functions as it pleases, without necessarily endangering the autonomy of member organizations over their own processes and resources.

The autonomy of member organizations enables them to mutually recognize the need for discretion to some centralized function – for example, not every organization needs to concern itself with running its own journal – and thereby enable them to focus their attention on what really matters.

This means that centralization can, in some instances, enable units to better manage the complexity generated by their own organizational processes, and their interactions with other groupings.

Mike Macnair, a legal scholar who writes on socialist politics, made similar points. He argued that the centralization problem of the workers' movement is that it needs to work out the institutional forms which will make a professional bureaucracy answerable to the lay members.

It needs to work that out the existing organisations of the working class. It needs to learn how to control power.

It needs to develop institutions that go far beyond the thin, impoverished parties of today, which do not address different aspects of the cultural life of the class.

Within this network or web of institutions under capitalism the proletariat needs to learn how to create its own power over its full-time apparatus.

A degree of centralization, and the concept of federations of collectives, are also highly present in green anarchist theories.

Green anarchism draws heavily on anarcho-syndicalism, and the social ecology Murray Bookchin named communalism. Graham Purchase, for example, calls for the union of a federally-coordinated green anarcho-syndicalism with a federally-coordinated ecoregionalism.

Anarcho-federalism inspired the social ecology of Bookchin, who beginning with his early works denounced the dangers of industrial pollution caused by chemicals, and proposed decentralisation as a way of striking a balance between society and nature, as well as of ensuring the survival of humanity.

In his other works he backs the struggle to achieve a de urbanised society that is decentralized in small confederated communities or 'libertarian municipal confederations'; interdependent, necessary to prevent individual communities from selfishly closing themselves off; and politically and economically self-sufficient, in which agriculture and manual labour are integrated and practised in the areas of life associated with self-management and direct democracy.

Bookchin, highly critical of nationalism, offers a vision that emancipates individuals from the oppression of the State, which is held responsible for environmental disaster.

As another example, British anarchist Colin Ward promoted a communitarian anarchism, which protects

local self-government, and the community use of natural resources and common goods like water.

The common objectives of federalism and ecologism, as political and ideological movements, lead to convergences and differences though.

Federalism, which many ecologists have wrongly considered and confused with centralisation, being instead based on the mutual autonomy of the federated parties, could facilitate an expansion of democracy, an expansion of democratic rights and, thanks to unitary organisation, a greater efficiency of policies.

Local self-government, vital to the survival and the free and democratic expression of the communities, must ultimately be based on the power and authority of the federal evolution of the State.

Flexible federalism can lead to federally connected communes if we embrace an ecological, anti-bureaucratic, and socialist mode of production, and anti-authoritarian, directly democratic decision making.

Confederalism is thought off as the opposite of federalism. It is a system where the central government is weaker, whereas in federalism the central government is stronger. In a confederal system, the 'lower' levels of government (states, for example) have more power than the central/higher level.

The democratic confederalist model of the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) follows an interesting theoretical path though.

It is a model of participatory democracy built on the self-government of local communities, and the organization of open councils, town councils, local parliaments, and larger congresses, where citizens are the agents of self-government, allowing individuals and communities to exercise a real influence over their common environment and activities.

Their idea of government embraces a model based on democracy instead of a model based on state structures and ethnic origins.

Their government constitutes a democratic, decentralized, and autonomous system of self-organization in the form of a [confederation](#) that has undertaken large communal projects, like the sustainable micro-irrigation system in Syria created in southern Afrin.

Democratic confederalism, as developed by Kurdish political prisoner Abdullah Ocalan, was influenced by Bookchin's communalism and libertarian socialism.

The Kurdish Rojava have evolved from marxist-leninist ideas to socialist and anarchist ones and have embraced environmentalism and feminism, even if still in an introductory stage mostly due to Turkish Imperialism.

Democratic confederations are federations of communes that are centralised to a degree, and decentralized in another.

They involve and develop local communities into polycentric and widespread federations, which are able to extend democracy, and ensure governance at all levels.

The centralization and decentralization of the state has been explored thoroughly, and its rigid conception has evolved.

Social and Collectivist anarchism have been researching these topics for a long time, and as we've noted, interesting syntheses have sprung.

Syntheses of Individualist, communist, and syndicalist anarchism have further developed state critiques, and proposed alternative solutions. Another example of the synthetic nature of anarchism is anarcho-feminism.

Indigenous anarchism, and in fact anarcho-feminism, are anti-authoritarian anti-capitalist ideologies that focus

on decentralized free associations, mostly by building anarchist collectives, such as communal organizations and autonomous municipalities, see chapter 10 in regards to the Sogorea Te' Land trust, or the rural collectives of the Spanish Mujeres Libres.

Anarchist collectives can take many forms depending on the country they inhabit, but all are built on mutual aid and direct democracy, and at the same time, these collectives decentralize responsibilities, but often retain important planning and organizational roles, i.e. a degree of centralization. Most communes and autonomous zones are also anti-capitalist and feminist.

Mujeres Libres, also known as free women, had their own praxis of anarcha-feminism which was pertinent to contemporary feminist and anti-capitalist movements, as well.

In Lessons on Anarchism and Feminism from Spain's Free Women, Alexandra Hastings writes that in Civil War-era Spain, amidst widespread political mayhem, a group of anarchist women disillusioned with the sexist and hypocritical attitudes of their male comrades, created an organization that had women's best interest at heart.

It was an organization that would rescue the fight for gender equality from the margins of the mainstream anarchist movement, striving to liberate women by means independent of the state.

These women called themselves Mujeres Libres, meaning 'free women' in Spanish, and their organization grew to tens of thousands of women during the three short years it was active, while uniting them and mobilizing them under one organization.

They educated women, and addressed people in a variety of contexts, including rural communities and urban barrios, as well as in workplaces. This approach was so successful in part because it did not place one

form of oppression above another, which has an isolating/alienating effect.

This was an alternative to lobbying the government that allowed people to work in communities which were set up in the way that they would ideally be arranged after the revolution: horizontally and decentralized, Hastings notes.

By practicing their ideals instead of simply preaching them, Mujeres Libres and the rest of the Spanish anarchists were able to prove to themselves, and to everyone watching, that their revolutionary goals were possible to achieve.

They created a community of people who believed that they could affect change in the world, thus mobilizing hundreds of thousands of people to take part in a movement that would not be easy, and even eventually endanger their lives.

Hastings argues that people became revolutionaries because they believed that they would (and could) create a better world grounded in egalitarianism, community, and gender equality, which is a view I espouse.

In fact, the desire to create a better world is a characteristic of humanity. Ideas like egalitarianism and equality, liberty and fraternity, have sprung revolutions across many different time periods, and geographical locations.

Wanting to achieve equality, to create a better life, and describing or attempting to create a better society has unfortunately come to be known as utopianism.

Utopianism is derived from the word *utopia*, coined by Thomas More in 1516. In the nineteenth century Robert Owen in England and Charles Fourier, Henri Saint-Simon and Étienne Cabet in France, collectively known as the utopian socialists, popularized the idea of

creating a better future through the establishment of small, experimental communities.

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and others argued that such an approach was incapable of solving the problems of industrial society, and the label utopian came to mean unrealistic.

French socialists such as Proudhon and Fourier also constructed elaborate visions of a future socialist society without an adequate understanding of existing capitalist society.

For Marx, on the other hand, socialism was not an idea or an ideal to be realized, but a natural outgrowth of the existing capitalist order.

Marx's historical materialism was a systematic attempt to discover the laws governing the inner dynamics of capitalism and class societies.

Although this theory issues in a prediction of the ultimate triumph of socialism, it is a commonplace that Marx had little to say about the details of post-capitalist society.

Nevertheless, some of its features can be discerned from his critical analysis of capitalism and what its replacement entails.

In order to create a better society, anti-capitalism should include economic equality, such as income and wealth equality. Anti-capitalism must become central to our advocacy, or else the utopia will remain a utopia.

The future socialist society cannot be achieved if we don't replace capitalist society first.

Scientific socialism will lead to communism if we realise that ecology and gender equality must be central components of it.

Accepting that historically language evolves, and that words change meanings, is also important to solving the aforementioned dichotomies.

The problem with the state isn't the word state, the problem with authority runs deeper than that.

Engels writes On Authority: "Authority, in the sense in which the word is used here, means: the imposition of the will of another upon ours; on the other hand, authority presupposes subordination."

He continues: "Now, since these two words sound bad, and the relationship which they represent is disagreeable to the subordinated party, the question is to ascertain whether there is any way of dispensing with it, whether - given the conditions of present-day society - we could not create another social system, in which this authority would be given no scope any longer, and would consequently have to disappear."

He argues that combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each other, displaces independent action by individuals, and that whoever mentions combined action speaks of organisation. As a result, he wonders if it is possible to have organisation without any authority.

I would argue that combined action and organisation don't displace independent action by individuals, as we've seen. Individual freedom and unity in action are very much, and have been historically proven, possible when all parties share the same values and goals.

He writes that the co-operation of individuals is absolutely necessary, and that authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society.

Engels is correct but he's misrepresenting his critics. Authority describes a social relation of influence and/or command & subordination, predicated on perceived or hegemonic social legitimacy.

There are many types of authority, and authority is not synonymous with organisation or force. Authority is

itself a type of power which can enable someone to use force, and therefore oppress others.

As an example, a weapon is a type of power. Using it to shoot at someone is a use of force. The cop, the state official, that wielded the weapon is a kind of authority, as is the state.

Engels notes that all Socialists agree that the political state, and its political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, that public functions will lose their political character and will be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society.

In my view, the state must be transcended. It must lose its oppressive basis after the revolution and wither away to strictly administrative functions.

In addition, its authority should be, first and foremost, humane and non-violent. Authority shouldn't be coercive. It should be fully democratic and recallable.

As I've mentioned previously, even horizontal hierarchies have to justify themselves, and be subject to immediate recall if necessary, but an authority of sorts is vital to most organizational structures.

Someone has to decide what we, as a society, produce, and this is undeniably a form of authority, it authorizes production. The problem, therefore, shouldn't be the outright existence of authority, but the type and function of it.

Some form of authority is also necessary for the purposes of education. It's true that in many ways, schools are prisons for our youth, especially religious ones.

This is where children are ultimately indoctrinated into the capitalist and hierarchical mindset, but we still need doctors and engineers.

An anarchist school would be a lot like a library, where individuals are not ordered by rank or authority,

but educated with kindness according to their interests, dreams and aspirations.

Emma Goldman in The Social Importance of the Modern School writes: "The Modern School repudiates utterly this pernicious and truly criminal system of education. It maintains that there is no more harmony between compulsion and education than there is between tyranny and liberty; the two being as far apart as the poles."

She notes that the underlying principle of the Modern School is this: education is a process of drawing out, not of driving in; it aims at the possibility that the child should be left free to develop spontaneously, directing his own efforts and choosing the branches of knowledge which he desires to study.

She continues that, therefore, the teacher, instead of opposing, or presenting as authoritative his own opinions, predilections, or beliefs should be a sensitive instrument responding to the needs of the child as they are at any time manifested; a channel through which the child may attain so much of the ordered knowledge of the world, as he shows himself ready to receive and assimilate.

She later expands on how the anarchist school should look like writing that the modern School, then, must be libertarian. Each pupil must be left free to his true self.

The main object of the school is the promotion of the harmonious development of all of the faculties latent in the child.

She further elaborates: "To discipline a child is invariably to set up a false moral standard, since the child is thereby led to suppose that punishment is something to be imposed upon him from without, by a person more powerful; instead of being a natural and unavoidable reaction and result of his own acts."

Ashanti Alston in Childhood & The Psychological Dimension of Revolution writes that to teach us to repress ourselves in the name of Respect and Obedience to Authority (parents, preachers, teachers, principals, police, politicians, etc.) DEHUMANIZES us.

If a child is forbidden to express his/her feelings, explore her/his potentials, she/he will never be able to unfold freely in a rich and joyous life OR in a life of Revolution dreaming, creating, destroying, healing, contesting, renewing.

I agree with the above sentiment, this is why the future anarchocommunist school I envision will be completely different from the one we have today.

Knowledge will be free and available to all, and children will study what they wish without being restricted by examination grades.

Teachers will be actual educators, social workers will be included in education, and school hours will be lessened, as will homework.

According to a 2013 research conducted at Stanford University, it was found that students in high-achieving communities who spend too much time on homework experience more stress, physical health problems, a lack of balance in their lives, and alienation from society.

Most studies have also shown that delaying school start times for adolescents will address the insufficient sleep among them, they're a largely sleep-deprived population, and potentially improve students' academic performance, reduce engagement in risk behaviours, and improve health.

Later school start times also generally corresponded to improved attendance, less tardiness, less falling asleep in class, fewer depression symptoms, and fewer motor vehicle crashes.

I was a teacher for many years, and I've noticed that when students are told to sit and be quiet for most of

the day, they feel like the school is trying to control them and because of that, they act out. Long school hours put much pressure on students.

By the time they're finished with the school day and their activities, there isn't much time for them to complete homework assignments and study.

In addition, the policy of frequent exams has the effect of raising their stress levels and homework load.

One of the main arguments against school reformation is that if everyone studies what they want, we'll only end up with doctors, lawyers, or artists, but we won't have any street cleaners.

Besides the fact that automation is actively making most labour-intensive essential jobs already obsolete, I would say that nothing stops a doctor from cleaning the streets once a week for a few hours. All of us can keep our communities clean, or manufacture some toothbrushes for a day.

Actual solidarity with each other, and collectively caring for our community is something that will be cultivated if the education system of the future taught these attitudes, instead of infusing atomising, capitalist, religious and fascistic notions.

Generalizing complex systemic critiques into short, quippy catchphrases like abolish school, or abolish the police, etc., is not simplistic or utopian. How will the system change if we don't nakedly point out its flaws?

People need to stress systemic inequalities simply, this helps popularizing anti-patriarchal and anti-capitalist attitudes, and sparks discussion on how to abolish these structures.

14| The left-wing spectrum

Internationally speaking, state capitalism has been applied to many countries, usually due to imperialist capitalism, and moderate social policies have been named socialist or even communism, at times.

So let's take time to reflect on a very important question, and disagreement, that's been troubling the left for a long time.

What exactly is communism?

The definition of a stateless, classless, moneyless society is accurate, but let's be more specific.

Being intersectional and marxist is being a communist, but is there such thing as libertarian vs authoritarian communists?

As previously discussed, Marxism-Leninism is state capitalism in practice, and it can be classified as red fascism / authoritarian 'communism' (authcom).

Authoritarian communists do exist. They're not communist, but they are marxist adjacent.

Authcoms employ force to impose their will, but many claim to want a communist society, and some have battled imperialist capitalist threats that could end the socialism they tried to implement.

The socialist political movement includes a set of political philosophies that originated in the revolutionary movements of the mid-to-late 18th century, out of concern for the social problems that were associated with capitalism.

Whereas there are many kinds of socialism, they are all characterised by social ownership of the means of production and democratic control, such as workers' self-management of enterprises, for example.

In order to achieve socialism a revolution takes place, or government policies are implemented, in order for the state to acquire the ownership of the means of production, and direct their value to the public, until it ultimately withers away.

Socialism is also, according to leninist theory, the transitory stage of society to Communism.

Communism is a political and economic philosophy whose ultimate goal is the establishment of a communist society, namely a socioeconomic order structured upon the common ownership of the means of production, and the absence of social classes, money, and the state.

Communism is a stateless, classless and moneyless society, and the evolution of socialism. It is the final goal of the revolution, and the farthest form of leftism. The left-wing spectrum, imo, starts from anarchism and ends in communism.

Communism is libertarian, in the sense that it's pro-liberty since people will be able to make free choices, and is fundamentally intersectional, since in it, hierarchical social classes have been abolished. Communism also includes marxist variations.

Historically, since the 1840s, communism has usually been distinguished from socialism, and by the 1860s, socialism became the predominant term and enveloped terms like associationist (Fourierism), co-operative, and mutualist.

An early distinction between communism and socialism was that the latter aimed to only socialize production, whereas the former aimed to socialize both production and consumption (in the form of free access to final goods).

By 1888, Marxists employed socialism in place of communism, but after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, socialism came to refer to a distinct stage between capitalism and communism.

Due to above facts, the term socialism is, in my view, situated to the right of communism on a spectrum of leftist political ideologies.

Marxism-Leninism, and its derivatives like Stalinism and Maoism, are state capitalism in practice as they preserve the fundamental capitalist mode of production, namely social relations and hierarchies, for-profit production, and wage labour but are based on Marxism.

Marxism, better known as historical materialism, is a method of socioeconomic analysis that uses a materialist interpretation of historical development, and it originated from the works of 19th-century German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Marxism also includes, or is sometimes considered synonymous to, dialectical materialism.

Marx and Engels were foundational thinkers of communism, but communism as a political philosophy predated both of them.

Therefore, marxism is included in communism, but because of its association to Marxism-Leninism and its anti-utopianism attitude, it's closer to communism than to socialism on a spectrum of left-wing ideologies.

In addition, the social ownership of the means of production is a common goal of all socialists, but there are many types of socialism.

These include non-market and market forms, central and non-central planning in resource production and allocation, different approaches on the structure of management in organizations, some favouring a state-driven approach, and some being anti-statist by arguing that government, particularly existing government, is not the correct vehicle for change.

Communism and socialism are *broader* analyses as is marxism. Marxists are socialists, but some socialists aren't marxists.

Communists are socialists, but some socialists have different ideas on how to organize the distribution of goods and services.

Some libertarian socialists, for example, don't want a centralized state, but some approve of electoral politics and trade unionism. Libsocs can be defined relatively broadly.

Many communist and socialist ideologies overlap with each other despite their contradictions.

Same is true in strains of anarchist theory. Some anarchists identify as communists, but some don't, like egoists.

Anarcho-syndicalism, for instance, is very similar to council communism since, as we've seen, they both advocate for workers' self-management in the form of worker's unions and worker's councils.

Anarcha-feminism, Queer anarchism, and several other insurrectionary tendencies blur the lines between individual and social anarchism even further.

Social anarchism is the branch of anarchism that sees individual freedom as interrelated with mutual aid.

Social anarchist thought emphasizes community and social equality as complementary to autonomy and personal freedom.

Individual anarchism emphasizes the individual freedom over external determinants such as groups, society, traditions and ideological systems.

There's much overlap between these two currents, as exemplified by mutualism, a type of anarchism that is both part of individual and social anarchism.

Anarchism in its origins, goals and methods isn't necessarily linked to any single philosophical system, it was born out of revolt against injustice. It was formulated to a distinct ideology though when the struggle against capitalism and the state was actualized.

The history of anarchism goes back to prehistory, when humans lived in anarchic societies long before the establishment of formal states, realms, or empires - a concept very similar to the primitive communist societies of Marx's analysis.

A self-conscious political movement emerged in the 19th century, and in the latter half of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, the anarchist movement flourished due to its significant role in workers' struggles for emancipation.

Anarchists have taken part in several revolutions as well, most notably in the Spanish Civil War.

The main plank of anarchism is that it's sceptical of authority and rejects all involuntary, coercive forms of hierarchy, also called unjust hierarchies.

Anarchism holds the ruling classes and the state as undesirable and harmful, and anarchists advocate classless stateless societies based on non-hierarchical voluntary associations - a goal they share with communists.

It's a set of interconnected ideologies that span the entire spectrum of leftism, from the left of social

democracy to communism - anarchism does not offer a fixed body of doctrine from a single particular worldview.

For example, egoism is closer to the centre than to socialism, since its mostly associated with individualist political philosophies, but anarcho-syndicalism isn't.

Anarchism is a unifying and, at the same time, diverse spectrum of ideologies. This isn't inconsistency since most anarchist theories are not mutually exclusive, and advocate for direct democracy in decision making in regards to solving disagreements on policy.

Some can vary significantly, ranging from individualism to collectivism, like the aforementioned categories of individualist and social anarchism, but they all have the goal of maximizing peoples' freedom from oppression. Anarchist literature offers an array of anti-authoritarian interpretations, and organizational principles, as well.

David Graeber has noted that while the major Marxist schools of thought always have founders (i.e. Leninism, Trotskyism and Maoism), schools of anarchism almost invariably emerge from some kind of organizational principle or form of practice, citing anarcho-syndicalism, individualist anarchism and platformism as examples, see also *especifismo*.

As I've stated, anarcho-syndicalism and council communism have many similarities, as does green anarchism - these ideologies are very close to each other on the left spectrum.

Green anarchism is closer to communism than anarcho-syndicalism is tho, because of its communalist roots, and due to its highly conscious attitude towards the approaching environmental annihilation. In addition, a synthesis of green anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism already exists.

Anarcho-syndicalism, though, and the broader syndicalist movement, was heavily influenced by Mikhail Bakunin, a collectivist anarchist.

Because of its lack of explicit inclusion of consumers in decision making besides workers, and absence of deep environmental concern, anarchosyndicalism is further to the right than green anarchism.

Council communism, sometimes called libertarian communism, is a current in communist thought that was historically opposed to Leninism, State Capitalism and State Socialism, and advocated for workers' councils, and council democracy.

It's close to anarcho-syndicalism but is situated closer to communism, due the fact that the Situationists found inspiration in council communism, and Western Marxism.

The Situationists critiqued consumer culture, and expanded on the psychological effects of alienation, and introduced the notion of the spectacle, see chapter 2.

Council communism is found on the right of green anarchism, though, because of the absence of explicit concern for the environment.

Queer anarchism and Anarcha-feminism are intersectional socialist ideologies that have been influenced by the collectivist anarchism of Bakunin, and by individualist anarchism, see the free love movement.

Therefore, they stand close to socialism, but are also close to more individualist tendencies.

Marxism has deeply affected the anarchist movement as indicated by the participation of the latter in class struggles.

Socialism and marxism both have the goal of socializing the means of production, but socialism also includes some market variations.

Socialism involves aspects of actual free markets, and by that, I mean free shops where people are 'buying'

stuff for free. The 'free market' tho, as we've seen, is a concept closely tied to capitalism.

In addition, we've explored market socialism briefly in the first chapter and price signals aren't the best indicators for the allocation of goods, consumer councils are much more efficient and less oppressive.

Furthermore, private investment should be heavily regulated since it leads to private ownership of large amounts of capital and wealth. Therefore, market socialism should be placed close to the centre.

Same goes for mutualism, since it advocates a socialist society based on free markets and usufructs, i.e. occupation and use property norms. Market socialism and mutualism are very similar, but mutualism is situated to the right of market socialism since it historically distinguished market socialism from state socialism

When it comes to libertarian socialists, they have many similarities with anarcho-communists, but also with mutualists. I know this sounds paradoxical, but I'll elaborate.

Libertarian socialism is a very broad set of ideologies. Most of them though share many commonalities, though.

Some are close to council communism or anarcho-syndicalism since democratic decision making is vital in their interpretations of communism.

Their opposition to the state focuses on liberating people from oppression, and for many, it doesn't mean the outright opposition to federal/confederal associations and structures.

Most are opposed to reformism, and distinguish communism from state capitalism.

Its main currents are marxism and anarchism, so libertarian socialism should be placed in-between them in the left-wing spectrum of political ideologies.

Libsocs are closer to anarchism than they are to communism tho, as indicated by the inclusion of the word libertarian - some are also still aligned with social democrats (demsoc/socdem).

The ownership of the means of production is collective for most forms of libertarian socialism, but individuals can own a small portion of them, given that the wealth generated from operating them doesn't exclude said individuals from the middle, or working, class - this is the why the similarity with ancoms.

Many libsocs, and many anarchists in fact, disagree with centralization, meaning the process by which the activities of an organisation, particularly those regarding planning and decision-making, framing strategy, and policies become concentrated away from local communities, mostly within a particular geographical location group.

A fully centralized government/state is one in which both executive and legislative power is concentrated centrally at the higher level, as opposed to it being more distributed at various lower level governments.

All government structures tho are, as we've seen, to some degree, necessarily centralized to some aspects, in the sense that even a confederal or federal state exerts an authority beyond that of its constituent parts, even under direct democracy. Globally though, more decentralization is better than more centralization.

Libertarian socialists, and anarchists, also view authority as undesirable and harmful. We can see that libertarian socialists are ultimately socialists and anarchists, they care for the liberation of every portion of the population.

As a result, it would be most accurate to place them strictly in between socialism and anarchism on the left-wing spectrum of political ideologies.

Anarchism employs a diversity of tactics in order to meet its ideal ends which can be broadly separated into revolutionary and evolutionary tactics; there is significant overlap between the two, which are merely descriptive.

Revolutionary tactics aim to bring down hierarchy and state, sometimes taking a violent turn, while evolutionary tactics aim to prefigure what an anarchist society would be like in the future.

Another example of anarchist synthesis is the political philosophy of anarcho-communism, which is in my opinion the most humane and efficient way of running a society.

Anarchocommunism advocates the abolition of the current form of the state, i.e. the class/bourgeois state, capitalism, wage labour, social hierarchies, and private property (while retaining personal property).

It advocates the common ownership of the means of production, and direct democracy in decision making in regards to production and distribution.

My synthesis of ancom favours systems of production, distribution and allocation organized along horizontal lines, comprised of workers' and consumers' councils (see for example participatory economics), with production and consumption based on the guiding principle 'to each according to their needs'.

Anarchocommunism is insurrectionary, influenced by marxism, anarchism and intersectionality, and it's, in my opinion, the best social system for the achievement of individual and collective freedom.

Most anarchocommunists view it as a way of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society. Imo, notable ancoms include Emma Goldman, Errico Malatesta, Peter Kropotkin and Murray Bookchin, among others.

Anarchocommunism

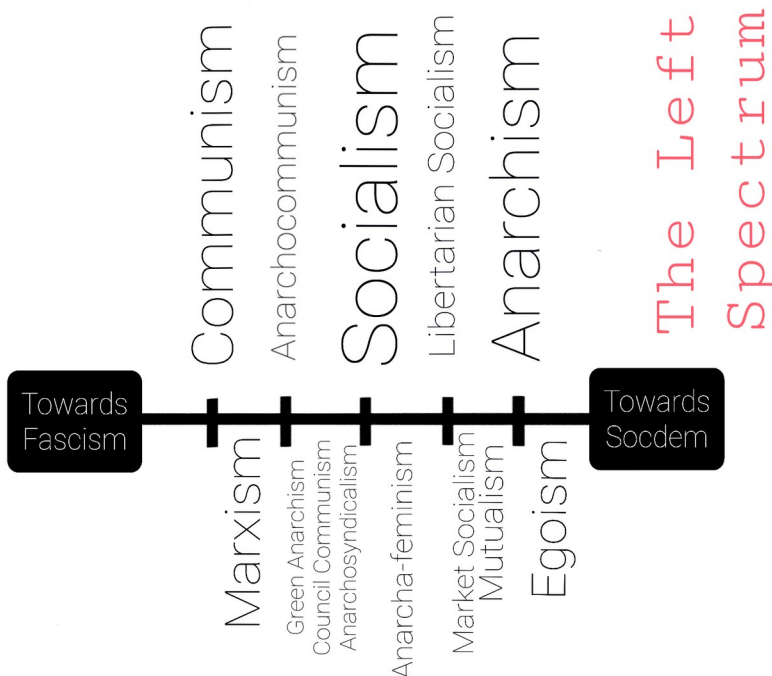
Subsequently, my synthesis of it is situated to the right of communism, as it is an anarchist philosophy, and to the left of green anarchism on the left-wing ideological spectrum.

Anarchocommunism holds mutual aid and direct action to high esteem, and is, in my analysis, intersectional and therefore feminist. My synthesis of it also includes a high degree of environmentalism.

Feminism advocates that the patriarchy and traditional gender roles should be abolished, and anarcha-feminism, that has many similar aspects with intersectional theories, argues that both are manifestations of involuntary coercive hierarchy.

Anarcha-feminism, and similar tendencies, are socialist ideologies that belong to the right of anarcho-syndicalism, because of their shortage on strictly focusing on workers' emancipation.

If we incorporate the analysis of leftist ideologies I've made in this chapter into one spectrum, the result will be the following:



Anarchocommunism

15| The road to Revolution

When it comes to the left, one thing is for sure: revolution plays a huge part in our discussions, and by revolution, I mean the violent overthrow of bourgeois governments and their replacement by a proletarian state.

The bourgeois state is going to wither away, but violence doesn't seem to go anywhere, mostly due to the fact that patriarchal capitalist propaganda is enforced by the state and capitalism.

Rosa Luxemburg in *Reform or Revolution* wrote that the present State is not 'society' representing the 'rising working class.' It is itself the representative of capitalist society. It is a class state.

She argued that legislative reform and revolution are different factors in the development of class society. They condition and complement each other, and are at the same time reciprocally exclusive, as are the north and south poles, the bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Every legal constitution is the product of a revolution, she explained. In the history of classes, revolution is the

act of political creation, while legislation is the political expression of the life of a society that has already come into being.

Work for reform does not contain its own force independent from revolution.

She noted that during every historic period, work for reforms is carried on only in the direction given to it by the impetus of the last revolution, and continues as long as the impulsion from the last revolution continues to make itself felt.

Or, to put it more concretely, in each historic period work for reforms is carried on only in the framework of the social form created by the last revolution.

It is contrary to history to represent work for reforms as a long-drawn out revolution, and revolution as a condensed series of reforms. A social transformation and a legislative reform do not differ according to their duration, but according to their content.

Rosa argued that this is why people who pronounce themselves in favour of the method of legislative reform in place, and in contradistinction to the conquest of political power and social revolution, do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer and slower road to the same goal, but a different goal.

Instead of taking a stand for the establishment of a new society they take a stand for surface modifications of the old society.

If we follow the political conceptions of revisionism, we arrive at the same conclusion that is reached when we follow the economic theories of revisionism.

Our program becomes not the realisation of socialism, but the reform of capitalism; not the suppression of the wage labour system but the diminution of exploitation, that is, the suppression of the abuses of capitalism instead of suppression of capitalism itself, she wrote.

I believe that before the wall of capitalism's injustice, the main answer is revolution. For only the hammer blow of revolution, the conquest of political power by the international proletariat, which includes ALL people, can break down this wall.

The conquest of power must be non-violent, though; the value of human life is immeasurable. This is a point on which we should all agree.

Therefore, if voting can change something, even temporarily, then we ought to try it, but our ultimate goal is revolution - this is what we must work to bring.

Fascism opposes voting while abusing every legal privilege and grey area, that much is clear.

The Republicans in the US continue to target black voters with, among other tactics, gerrymandering, closing polling places while restricting vote-by-mail, pushing for "voter IDs", etc., while in Russia elections are wholly corrupted, as they are in many other countries.

One-party states are autocratic when the people can't elect their leaders, and as we can see, fascism is very similar to most forms of undemocratic political systems of governance on the effects it has on the populace.

Unfortunately, the illusion of democracy can also be readily incorporated into state capitalist states, as well. As previously discussed, authoritarian communism either inherently is fascism, or leads inexorably to it.

Mao, in the little red book that contains his thoughts, said that the Chinese Communist Party is the core of the Chinese revolution, and its principles are based on Leninism.

Maoism is, therefore, a one-party political-economic ideology, based on authoritarian nationalist practices, even if it's derived from marxist thought.

Mao claimed war is a continuation of politics, and argued that there are at least two types: just

(progressive) and unjust wars, which only serve bourgeois interests. I disagree fervently with the above.

War is never justified, and revolutionary defensive violence shouldn't be conflated with it. The army is the tool of the state and carries out its wars, and communists should never propagandize in favour of it.

Mao even states that an army that is cherished and respected by the people, and vice versa, is a nigh-invincible force, and that the army and the people must unite on the grounds of basic respect.

Respect and cherish what, exactly? An oppressive structure that's occupying foreign lands and kills people? Respect for what, I ask again. For the lost lives of the soldiers, or of their victims? Whose victims? Ours or our enemies?

When you glorify the existence of a standing army, you don't really value all human life. You also can't claim you're defending yourself against imperialism by being an Imperialist.

The patriotism of a communist nation and an internationalist sympathy for just struggles in other countries are in no way exclusive, but we must be careful to not let patriotism, and in fact nationalism, move away from the purpose of uniting the proletariat of a nation in defence against oppression.

Moreover, it's undeniable that Confucian views on women are oppressive, a similarity that most patriarchal structures share. In Confucianism, women were to be obedient to the father and elder brothers when young, to the husband when married, and to the sons when widowed.

Thus, women were controlled and dominated by men from cradle to grave. This applied to the middle and the lower classes, and to most assigned-female-at-birth people.

This is not to say that every communist ever in China is sexist, nor is this section meant to typify Asian cultures; this is meant to analyse the false consciousness that remains under leninist ideologies, and how it relates to the militant, nationalist, and authoritarian roots of all capitalist modes.

Capitalism, no matter what form it takes, whether that be neoliberalism or state capitalism, always ends up oppressing individuals along class, gender, racial, etc. lines. The authoritarian roots of the exploitation of productive resources by the few will always result in fascistic hierarchies.

Even if the severity of the oppression ranges from fascism to social democracy, there's always a lower class that gets the brunt of it. Some portion of the population will inevitably be oppressed, this is what the enforcement of the capitalist division of labour requires.

During our times of late stage capitalism, people are dying in the middle east due to imperialist wars, and at the same time people are killing themselves because of mental illnesses in more developed countries.

Capitalism on its highest late stage has this exact future in store for all of us. Some will be killed, either by war or by environmental destruction, and some will live somewhat 'comfortably' while actually struggling under it.

The world would be further divided into classes, and the few rich will live a totally different life than the rest of us. This is where the whole thing is heading.

The only way for the majority to rise is to take what's ours from the capitalists, to take the product of our labour and innovation and distribute it fairly among ourselves.

The resulting system we will bring if successful will not resemble state capitalism. In fact, state capitalism, authoritarian communism that is, has deeply damaged

the reputation of socialism, either by its own fault or because of western capitalist propaganda.

The fact that state capitalism is authoritarian and patriarchal isn't a surprise, and even when a product of imperialist oppression, these systemic flaws need recognition.

A governing system based on anarchocommunism is intersectional, and is of course better than any religious one, since it supports rather than crushes the individual in the altar of a higher power.

Every religious system has the capacity of being oppressive, including Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, etc. Religious fundamentalism is a right-wing ideology, and it's related to liberalism and, moreso, fascism.

But, religion can be a force for good overall, if treated progressively. People should have a moral compass, and be close to God if they choose to. It's also a unifying social activity.

A state that is moving towards socialism should have full ownership of industries, and provide financial assistance and services of all kinds to its residents: like free healthcare, childcare, paid family leave, etc. In this way we reduce the demand for heteropatriarchal or religious structures to take these roles.

A state that is moving towards socialism should have full ownership of industries, and provide financial assistance and services of all kinds to its residents: like free healthcare, childcare, paid family leave, etc.

In this way we furthermore reduce the demand for heteropatriarchal or religious structures to take these roles.

Socialist and communist states should, also, not crack down on dissidents, or oppress women.

The oppression faced by women, internationally, is something that leftists should speak about, but

unfortunately, false consciousness impedes this. Sexism is a form of false consciousness, and is systemically and institutionally enforced.

As an example, in Korean business culture (K-pop included), which is notorious for long working hours and top-down structures that demand absolute obedience, female employees are more often than not encouraged or even obligated to spend time with their bosses outside the company.

Additionally, in Japan, propaganda by ads and talk-shows, instils the notion that your work is the best indicator of your life. Women are expected to excel in work, in the family, and in society. Hashtag girlboss.

Revolutionary communists have, throughout history, rejected gender dichotomies and authoritarian practices, and have been persecuted for it.

Breaking oppressive systems while living inside them is the struggle.

Gender discrimination was rampant in the Soviet Union, as well, and it's still present in modern-day Russia, as is corruption, capital accumulation, and the type of nationalism that leads to the oppression of ethnic minorities.

State capitalism has a long history of discrimination along many intersections, and it thrives on violence.

Let's take the example of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh served as Prime Minister and President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Ideologically a Marxist Leninist, his fame is comparable in many ways to that of Mao Zedong in China and of Kim Jong-il in North Korea.

He represented a class of Vietnamese intellectuals caught between colonialism, nationalism, communism,

and capitalism, in a society traditionally run by totalitarian nationalist forms of government.

Under his leadership, Vietnam defeated the French rule, but atrocities were also committed. This isn't a matter of perspective. History has been written in blood, and many leaders than fought for their country's self-governance also committed war crimes. This is the reality, and we shouldn't shy away from this.

The point is to learn from our mistakes so that we will not repeat them in the future. The revolution shouldn't be violent, and when forced into defensive violence, self-defence, we should minimize human suffering to the lowest possible degree.

When violent attitudes are excused then what's stopping us from repeating them under similar circumstances? If the ends justify the means then why should we change the means in the first place?

How will we build something better if the values on which we build it are violent and cruel?

One of the most violent and cruel notions is the assignment of people into hierarchies, into different social classes according to their 'value'. Rich over poor, civilised over uncivilised, whites over blacks, men over women.

If we don't address hierarchical and patriarchal notions every struggle against capitalism will end up reproducing them. This is how it goes. These ideas are ingrained in us since antiquity.

In Vietnam, as in China, communism presented itself as a root and branch rejection of Confucianism, and condemned it for its ritualism, inherent conservatism, and resistance to change.

Once in power, the Vietnamese Communists may not have fought Confucianism, but its social prestige was 'essentially destroyed'. I think that is fair to say that isn't the case in China.

Confucianist attitudes still play a big role, and, as argued above, have misogynistic tendencies. The patriarchal oppression of all genders is commonplace in authoritarian systems rested on tradition and religion.

Capitalism and fascism, complimented by religious fundamentalism, nationalism, racism and sexism, have constructed systems whereby even former oppressed people became the oppressors of others, see Israel and its abhorrent behaviour towards the Palestinians we've discussed.

The Chinese Communist Party has also engaged in Islamophobia and Han supremacy, see the oppression of Tibet, the Uyghurs, and Hong Kong.

Arguing whether an oppression is a genocide or not is like arguing whether beating your wife is better than killing her. Both are vile, and shouldn't be excused, even if one is worse than the other.

Some 'communists' and 'anarchists' (some of whom are actually state capitalists and 'anarcho'-capitalists) are functionally reproducing fascistic ideas that will result in oppression, cruelty and violence.

Fascism is authoritarianism and totalitarianism put together, and takes the form of a militarized nation state that exterminates opposition.

Capitalism reproduces fascism, and the division of people into social classes. Anarchists, socialists and communists share a common goal, and that's the achievement of a socialist society.

If we want this to happen we shouldn't let sectarianism take the better of us, but, at the same time, unite under principles we all agree on.

A united anarchocommunist movement can gather the numbers required to cause enough noise and damage so that capitalists will finally tremble, especially now that humanity and the earth are faced with extinction.

The means in which to achieve this are in, my view, found in leftist revolutionary practices.

As we've discussed, fascists and capitalists are trying to recuperate leftist ideology. The advocacy of the revolution as the answer to this is of course preferable, but equating it with violence isn't.

We should welcome ideological thinking against dogmatism, but highly individualist attitudes are something capitalism promotes, not to mention that their exacerbation results in social darwinist notions.

Capitalist realism is basically when the individual is being a realist about whether capitalism can even be reformed - a common attitude fostered by neoliberalism.

Capitalist realism and irony, as a coping mechanism to it, are well-connected, as are nihilism and fatalism.

When false consciousness, like bigotry and classism, is cultivated by societal structures, the individual is left perplexed and atomized.

When all you see is the violent disregard of human life, when all you see is racism and sexism, this is what you will reproduce.

Right-wing propaganda and the perpetuation of material oppression even after so-called free and fair elections further worsens these matters.

And the cycle just goes on and on. Even when you supposedly break it, you just build another in its place, albeit a slightly 'better' one for some.

This needs to stop once and for all. We need to somehow battle the monster that is capitalism, the monster that is hierarchy.

We need to advocate for the abolishment of the military, borders, race, gender, class, etc., so communism can actually happen. This is what socialism should be.

An anarchocommunist takes these notions as a given, accepts that revolution shouldn't include offensive

violence, and that the state should be completely reimagined.

The revolutionary process and goal shouldn't be based on violence, it's cruel and it alienates people from the movement.

The media are broadcasting wars for profit as reality TV for years, and still argue about the abhorrent practice of the death penalty, after all.

We solely focus on the American casualties of 9/11, but not on the abysmal toll the wars in the Middle East have taken on people of this heritage.

'The news' has suffered a similar fate, especially after privatization and deregulation. People learn that this jungle-like reality of capitalism they put up with is inescapable, and that they just have to embrace it.

The only truth is oppression and cruelty in the marketplace of ideas. This is the 'freedom' people enjoy under capitalism; the freedom to experience expropriated misery.

Leftists analyse the world around them by class, race, gender, etc. Material conditions usually take precedent because they're the most important factor that affects a person's development.

Many forms of oppression are hurting the people, but class is the primary driver behind the capitalist system.

When liberals are means-testing healthcare and the rest of the right flat out denies it, poor people don't have many choices.

Especially those living in low-income rural areas where they watch the factories that provided the only income available for residents go out of business.

Their situation is tragic because these factories polluted their lands and were actually the ones responsible for their health problems, but they're happy they had a day's pay.

So when they listen to privileged socdems making fun of them, they double down on their beliefs, and get defensive.

For some, the Trump rallies were the only opportunity to earn some money by selling merch, food, their labour, etc. The right-wing Capitol coup attempt was the result of the commodified marketplace of ideas.

White supremacy isn't falling out of the sky, it has been planted, and enforced by systems. These systems are made out of people, and to whatever end of the oppressor/oppressed spectrum you fall, you're a part of them.

Bystanderism is born of privilege, as is identity reductionism or identifying as apolitical.

The truth is that state doesn't really want to tackle white supremacy because it doesn't materially support poor rural communities, not to mention communities of colour. This is why the fight for equality should fundamentally address class inequality.

The state should move towards socialism, by force if necessary. The best example capitalism has to offer historically is neoliberalism, and it's not good.

The worst examples include entire villages owned by private companies, like in Japan and in the US, healthcare workers using covid vaccines from the trash, children being murdered in the streets of Iraq, etc.

Fascism can't defeat capitalism because it usually comes from it, or reinforces it. Feudalism may have predated capitalism, but feudal lords owned all the means of production, the workforce, etc., except the commons.

The lords and kings became capitalists employing wage slaves and chattel slaves, especially since it is the Enclosure Acts and African Slavery that mark the beginning of capitalism.

Material oppression was always a thing, and capitalism was the evolved form of it. It is the private mode of production that we're fighting against.

If the public holds the means of production, and distributes the wealth generated, devoid of profit, to all humanity through government policies, and if this state is democratically and directly elected, and swiftly recallable, by the people, then we can ensure actual equality of opportunity.

If the revolutionary proletarian state battled the patriarchy, the people would move closer to social justice.

If 'the people' included all those who reside within a country's borders, including undocumented immigrants, the resulting state would not be oppressive.

This conception of the state doesn't contradict the anarchist critiques of it, and it isn't statism.

Statism is the concentration of economic controls and planning in the hands of a central government, often extending to government ownership of industries.

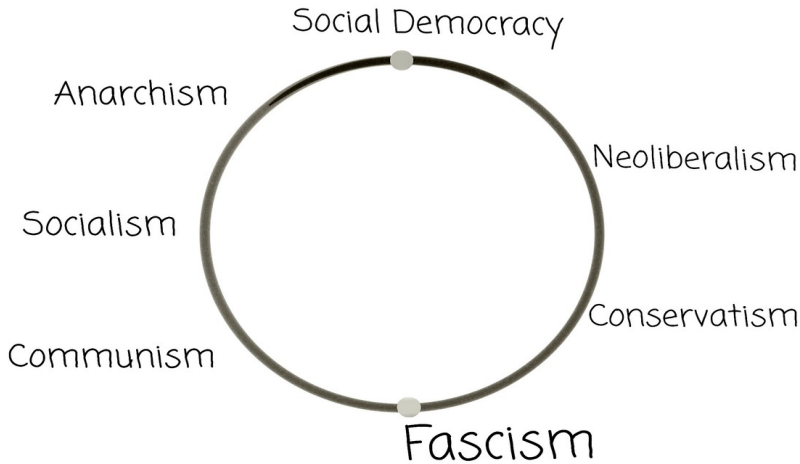
If the concentration is not geographically centralized and all people hold and wield government power, like workers and consumers deciding economic control and planning, we can speak about a form of introductory communism.

16| Patriarchal Capitalism: the exchange of a person's psyche for bread

The following is the Political Ideology Cycle which I think encapsulates the entire spectrum of economic & political ideologies, and I know it looks controversial, but I think I've sufficiently explained the reasoning behind it.

It's comprised by the left-wing and right-wing political spectra that I introduced in previous chapters.

The Political Ideology Cycle



Capitalism as a production and distribution system, and as an ideology that spans the right-wing, produces hegemonic culture that has mental health effects, and other health effects, on the population.

Someone said that insanity is doing the same thing over and over again, and expecting different results. Insanity isn't so clearly defined though.

People who suffered from mental illness were called insane, even though being foolish or unreasonable, which was how the word was mainly used, isn't what mental illness is.

According to the American Psychiatric Association, mental illnesses are health conditions involving changes in emotion, thinking or behaviour (or a combination of these). Mental illnesses are associated with distress

and/or problems functioning in social, work or family activities.

Nearly one in five (19 percent) U.S. adults experience some form of mental illness - a conservative estimate, in my opinion. Mental illnesses like depression are pervasive under capitalism.

Studies have shown that social factors exacerbate depression, anxiety, bipolar disorder, and most mental illnesses. Environmental factors such as continuous exposure to violence, neglect, abuse or poverty may make some people more vulnerable to depression.

In Marxist theory, the capitalist system of production consists of two main classes: the bourgeoisie, the capitalists who own the means of production, and the much larger proletariat (or working class) who must sell their own labour power (see wage labour).

This is the fundamental economic structure of work and property, a state of inequality that is normalised and reproduced through cultural processes.

Thus the proletariat, in itself, is forced into a subservient position by the power of capital, which has stripped the means of production from them. The proletariat should become conscious of its situation and power, organize itself, and take collective political action.

In my analysis, the unemployed, the working class and the middle class, which include parts of the petite bourgeoisie and the lumpen proletariat like many self-employed workers/owners or the unhoused, make up the larger proletariat under late stage capitalism.

They have more similarities with each other than with the capitalist class, which is comprised by the hoarders of means of production, capital, and wealth.

Whether someone owns the means of production and capital, and the amount of them they own, are the main indicators for their place in the social strata.

In my view, class stratification is primarily based on, and/or manifested with, economic inequalities. Other status and power differentials exist, and they're better studied when looked through the lens of an intersectional analysis.

The entire working class, which makes up the majority of people, suffer with mental illness under capitalism.

Recent estimates by the World Health Organization suggest that more than three hundred million people suffer from depression worldwide.

Furthermore, twenty-three million are said to experience symptoms of schizophrenia, while approximately eight hundred thousand individuals commit suicide each year.

Within capitalist nations, mental-health disorders are the leading cause of life expectancy decline behind cardiovascular disease and cancer.

David Mathews in: A Theory of Mental Health and Monopoly Capitalism writes that in capitalist society, biological explanations dominate understandings of mental health, infusing professional practice and public awareness.

While potentially offering illuminating insights into poor mental well-being in specific cases, biological interpretations are far from sufficient on their own.

What is abundantly clear is the existence of significant social patterns that elucidate the impossibility of reducing poor mental health to biological determinism.

He argues that the social, political, and economic organization of society must be recognized as a significant contributor to people's mental health, with certain social structures being more advantageous to the emergence of mental well-being than others.

As the basis on which society's superstructural formation is erected, capitalism is a major determinant of poor mental health.

Iain Ferguson, a Marxist professor, has argued that it is the economic and political system under which we live - capitalism - which is responsible for the enormously high levels of mental health problems which we see in the world today.

The alleviation of mental distress is only possible in a society without capitalist exploitation and oppression.

In the final chapters of Monopoly Capital, Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy made explicit the consequences of capitalism for the psychological well-being, arguing that the system fails to provide the foundations of a society capable of promoting the healthy and happy development of its members.

It is only for a fortunate minority that work can be considered pleasurable, they write, while for the majority it is a thoroughly unsatisfactory experience.

Attempting to avoid work at all costs, leisure frequently fails to offer any consolation, as it is also rendered meaningless.

They argue that consumerism ultimately breeds dissatisfaction as the desire to substitute old products for new ones turns maintaining one's position in society into a relentless pursuit of an unobtainable standard.

While fulfilling the basic needs of survival, both work and consumption increasingly lose their inner content and meaning. The result is a society characterized by emptiness and degradation, they argue.

Arguably one the most widespread issues to plague present-day / late-stage capitalism is loneliness.

It is increasingly considered a major public health concern, perhaps most symbolically evident with the establishment of a Minister for Loneliness in 2018 by the British government.

Loneliness has debilitating consequences. Individuals may resort to alcohol and drug abuse to numb their misery, while persistent experience increases blood pressure and stress, as well as negatively impacts cardiovascular and immune-system functioning.

David Mathews states that individualism has always reigned supreme as a principle upon which the ideal capitalist society is constructed. Individual effort, self-reliance, and independence are endorsed as the hallmarks of capitalism.

As understood today, this notion of the individual has its origins in the feudal mode of production, and its emphasis on greater collectivist methods of labour - such as within the family or village - being surrendered to the compulsion of individuals, who have to be free to sell their labour power on the market.

Prior to capitalism, he continues, life was conducted more as part of a wider social group, while the transition to capitalism developed and allowed for the emergence of the isolated, private individual and the nuclear, increasingly privatized family.

Furthermore, he notes that the need for identity and creative fulfilment encourages an insatiable appetite to consume.

Each purchase, however, regularly fails to live up to its promise. Rarely is satisfaction truly achieved through consumption, because what is being consumed is an artificial idea rather than a product that imbues our existence with meaning. In this process, consumerism, commodification and alienation become evident.

Alienation is social isolation; we feel isolated and it's because of capitalism.

Most people feel lonely, isolated and alienated in their jobs, and through the consumption of commodities, they try to feel the void in their psyche.

We need to consume commodities to survive, but the commodification we experience under capitalism makes us question our sanity, and the value of human life.

The effects of the commodified nature of consumption are very intensified because we have to sell our labour in order to engage in it.

We need bread to live, but we have work to buy it. Work is an arduous and usually traumatizing process, and the state only makes things worse. We have no protection, the only thing that can protect us is money.

As a result, consumption is highly prized, and becomes one of the best indicators of our success in the game of life.

We don't *feel* successful though, we feel powerless because our underlying problems aren't actually addressed.

Moreover, since we're atomised, alienated and the individual mindset of the survival of the strongest is in effect, we don't show any solidarity with our fellow humans, and we disregard the degradation of the environment.

Living in this capitalist hell scape causes generational trauma. The conquest of bread for us humans goes on for a long time, this is why, historically, socialists wanted to alleviate everyone from the toils of labour.

We're born and raised in a system that makes us believe it's normal to compete in this heartless jungle, and the only way to slightly improve it is to simply be patient, but this improvement never comes.

Many people were and are hungry and sick, suicides have skyrocketed, and things seem to change, but frequently for the worse. The majority of us are descended from the peasants, and not the ruling class.

Right-wing, and reformist/centrist, policies don't address these chronic structural inequalities, they in fact make them worse.

Conservatives, neoliberals, and even sometimes the social democrats who claim to belong on the left even though class takes a back seat in their conversations, argue that austerity and cuts to social policies are necessary.

The truth is tho that these cuts have contributed to the increasing prevalence of individuals who suffer from poor mental health, as well as to the exacerbation of existing mental-health issues among the population.

In 2017, the British National Survivor User Network proposed that the challenge posed by mental-health service users should be part of a wider indictment of the general inequality in society, arguing that austerity measures, damaging economic policies, social discrimination and structural inequalities are causing harm to people.

David Mathews argues that we need to challenge these policies as part of a broader social justice agenda.

He writes that all members of society are affected by the inhumane nature of capitalism, but, slowly and determinedly, the fight is being led most explicitly by the most oppressed and exploited.

The challenge posed must be viewed as part of the wider class struggle, as being one front of many in the fight for social justice, economic equality, dignity, and respect.

The fight for systemic change, for the revolution, has become urgent and unavoidable. This fight is of course complemented by voting, since as anarchocommunists we hold direct democracy to a high value.

The main driver of systemic change historically was though, and is, revolution, and it isn't just a dream, nor should we be afraid of it.

Courage in the face of adversity is a fundamental characteristic of the human condition. If we manage to gather enough numbers, the revolutionary aim and goal are obtainable.

The way of achieving this is through unity - the unity of the entire leftist movement. Differences of opinion will exist, and this is very healthy.

All of us together, democratically, will decide the best course of action, always guided by the anarchocommunist principles.

Capitalist realism has curbed our revolutionary spirit, but resistance to destitution is something that the human nature knows all too well.

Intersectionality is the tool with which we can comprehend how a person's social identities combine to create different modes of discrimination and privilege, like gender, race, class, sexuality, religion, disability, physical appearance, etc., so we can fully understand the problems our neighbours face.

We must learn to care for the world and the people around us.

This is how we will form a large and humane movement that won't repeat the mistakes of the past, and will actually be effective in eliminating oppression once and for all.

It's undeniable that patriarchal oppression is a sad fact that plaques our society. Even though sex and gender exist on a spectrum, traditional gender roles are still enforced, especially through hegemonic propaganda, and their historic effects are still not addressed.

Patriarchal oppression and capitalist oppression intersect, and for-profit media don't discuss either of them properly. Patriarchal oppression still traumatises people, and has severe mental health effects.

Patriarchal oppression mostly manifests as sexist attitudes and behaviours towards all genders. Sexism includes misogyny, and transmisogyny, as well as misandry and transmisandry. It affects all genders, and has severe psychological effects.

According to a report on psychosocial factors and women's mental health, published by the WHO in 1993, there's a big link between the increased prevalence of mental health issues in women and their vulnerable location in a patriarchal society.

Girls growing up witnessing violence towards their mother, for example, internalise the pain and find it difficult to cope with it when they find themselves in a similar situation.

Mental disorders that are linked to domestic violence and intimate partner violence include clinical depression, PTSD, anxiety disorders and psychosis.

Patriarchy is the social system in which all genders are oppressed, but women and LGBTQ people most of all. Power, authority, and privilege are predominantly held by men.

Gender roles are the behaviours and attitudes that society considers appropriate for men and women, and they affect how all genders experience themselves. Sexist notions are reinforced systemically and institutionally, and deeply affect individual biases.

A study published by Purdue and Northwestern Universities found that gender stereotypes affected the way people responded to others' mental illnesses.

Respondents read case summaries of mental illnesses whose symptoms were stereotypically associated with either women or men, and men were found to be more likely stereotyped as violent, which is often linked to something like alcohol abuse.

While women were more likely to be stereotyped as dependent, which is more closely linked to issues like depression.

Women also suffer from internalized misogyny, which is when women subconsciously project sexist ideas onto other women, and even onto themselves. This sets an unhealthy precedent that makes women tear one another down.

Sexism is perpetuated by the state *and* capitalism, from government policies that criminalise homosexuality to the hyper sexualization of women in capitalist advertisements.

Gender critical ideology, i.e. terfs (trans-exclusionary radical feminists), makes good points in regards to cultural misogyny, and the absurdity of children transitioning to the opposite sex.

Homophobia, transphobia and mental illness should first be addressed before transition is explored. Transphobia mainly focuses on non-binary phobia. Being a third gender should finally be accepted by society.

Swerfs (sex worker-exclusionary radical feminists) are correct about the nature of sex work, and the need to criminalise the buying of sex while offering exit strategies and support to the victims of it.

In addition, since according to intersectional theories most forms of oppression intersect, the sexist attitudes in regards to trans/non-binary people usually coexist with other bigoted attitudes, like racism, ableism, homophobia, etc.

People of colour are disproportionally working class, as well. Class, race and gender intersect.

All forms of oppression intersect and cause deep psychological traumas. As long as these notions are still perpetuated by capitalist and patriarchal propaganda, it will be extremely difficult for actual solidarity and caring for others to be fostered among us.

Racist and xenophobic oppressions like islamophobia are deeply harmful for many immigrants, and they obstruct communists from building an international movement.

You can't regulate people; abolish borders.

The dream of a borderless society with freedom of movement for all people, regardless of their country of origin, is a goal that can be achieved when nationalism and racism are no longer accepted ideologies for the majority.

One step towards that direction is the acknowledgement that capitalism and fascism have been trying to recuperate identity politics, an important political approach.

Fascists have always worked towards the construction of society on the basis of white male identities, and have also claimed that the opposing faction are the true fascists. Neoliberalism has been helping with both goals.

As anarchocommunists, we should therefore stress that the government's authoritarian and bigoted roots are an unfortunate truth, but in our ideology, the government is non-authoritarian and non-bigoted by default. No ancom structure can ever be fascistic.

At the same time, historically marginalized groups have to be given equality, and reparations in many cases. When you're used to a life of privilege, equality feels like oppression is accurate, but at the same time, many racially privileged people are economically under privileged.

Intersectionality, marxism and anarchism must coexist in leftist movements, and discussions about state oppression must be explored, especially when originating from marginalized people.

We *must* include diverse voices in our discussions.

17| The anarchocommunist ideology

Class state structures are hierarchical and oppressive. Systemic oppression is perpetuated by most states and governments, and all unjust hierarchies should be abolished.

An anarchocommunist state inflicts no oppression on people, it only facilitates their everyday lives, as that is the state of communism.

The anarchocommunist state will be centralized locally, to a degree, but decentralized globally. It will be ecological, non-oppressive and democratic.

Production and distribution of goods and services will be socialised, and organized by elected representatives of both workers and consumers.

Policing and incarceration will be handled by social workers and holistic health facilities - all subject to recall by direct democratic voting - and will eventually be rendered unnecessary.

Free healthcare, education, housing, energy, etc., will be provided to all. Since basic equality would have been achieved, borders and war will no longer exist. In post-scarcity, money and wage-labour will become fully obsolete.

Automation and space exploration will not belong to the few capitalists anymore, management positions will change hands regularly, and the working place will be democratized.

Extracting resources and trade deals would be done according to the mutual benefit of all parties involved, and with respect for the environment, wages will be more than sufficient for living with ease, and the consumption of a commodity wouldn't be unethical.

Humans need food and a house to survive, the problem is that capitalism produces these things and charges for them, at a profit of course.

All of us disagree with what's happening, some have different ways of expressing it, and some don't know what's actually the problem.

The manufacturing of consent by capitalist companies and the US state, is one of the major factors for most disagreements in policy measures.

The truth is that the American state is basically made up of conservatives and neoliberals selling a fascist capitalist worldview because of financial incentives, and unfortunately, America holds the global cultural hegemony.

The social darwinism of the right has come to affect medical journals and scientific papers. No wonder so many people fell victim to anti-vaxxing, QAnon, etc.

The mental health issues many face can't be properly addressed if we don't move away from the capitalist mode of production, and that is a fact.

The for-profit media, since they serve capitalism, manufacture the public's consent so that the reaction to

systemic oppression becomes recuperated. The revolutionary struggle moves away from dismantling capitalism to reforming it, or to attacking democracy.

Fear is instilled in the public consciousness, and it usually takes the form of worrying we'll lose the few privileges we have to the altar of equality.

Irrationality and paranoia become dominant, and the fear that the oppressed will become the oppressors if given the chance rises, forgetting that capitalism actually sustains fascism and socialism battles it.

As a result, further divisiveness among the lower class is sowed, and the revolution becomes an unobtainable dream. Therefore, the threat to the system is successfully neutralized.

Milk toast socdem policies are called communism, and the spectre of communism has been a threat to capitalism for a long time. The propaganda capitalism manufactures doesn't allow for communism to be properly discussed, but only disregarded and misrepresented.

In the UK, for example, Jeremy Corbyn is given the minimum possible airtime and even then, he's being targeted because of his advocacy for social democratic policies.

The capitalist culture that is fed to us, the spectacle, is bombarding us since birth, and by the time we reach adulthood, it has successfully instilled false consciousness to all of us.

Since the average voter isn't properly informed by the media, we see two contradictory effects that further sustain divisiveness and sectarianism.

People are either propagandized into blindly believing them, or they outright reject them resorting to alternative news coverage, especially on social media.

The result is the creation and sustaining of two broad camps, the rebels and the conformists, that both include

right-wingers and leftists at the same time, rendering the possibility of an actual conversation among them impossible.

Because capitalists somewhat need electoral support, election results are a threat to their profit-making ability, they resort to attacking democracy.

Populism is being labelled leftism, even though most of it is reactionary and right-wing.

Liberalism is heiled as leftism as well, and as a result, the marginalized especially are rejecting actual leftism, like socialism and communism.

Forms of fascism start to look appealing to many, and the media don't address class inequality. When they brush over it, they present class consciousness as aggressive and divisive.

We have different opinions so discussion is healthy, but since the only two camps given credence are the centre-right and the far-right, actual leftist positions aren't even given a chance.

Leftists are presented as bigoted, violent or utopian, and the right-wing perspective is further sustained as pragmatic.

Moreover, because of the interference of capitalism in scientific processes, see the lack of anarchist and marxist professors in most major universities for example, the left and the right are each dealing with a different set of 'facts'.

Furthermore, the unaddressed bigotry most of us sustain is fostered into resentment, and fear takes over.

We're afraid of losing the things that matter to us to the invaders that are coming, whether that be gays, immigrants or socialists.

Neoliberalism can't properly target white supremacy, racism, sexism, etc. because the way it goes about addressing bigotry is to remove the few concessions the working class has historically earned with blood, and not

the reduction at least of the many privileges the highest class holds.

On the contrary, neoliberalism promotes the glorification of billionaires. They make you wonder whether you'll be the target of radical leftists since you can be considered part of the upper class in some obscure material aspect. But this is incorrect.

You don't have the same economic freedom as Jeff Bezos. You don't have the amount of wealth he has. You don't have a private jet. And at the end of the day, even if you do, we just want the jet, not your personal property, your house that is.

This capitalist propaganda, this manufacturing of the public's consent is very profitable. When we're all fighting each other, and the only avenue is the right-wing, capitalists can keep earning new money while keeping their old imperialist, colonialist, capitalist money safe.

Neoliberalism, and all right-wing ideologies, are deeply ingrained in society, political decisions made in ivory towers affect whether the lower class will survive another day or not, and the for-profit media keep instilling fascist and capitalist attitudes every day.

The patriotism they peddle alone has devastating consequences for the countries of the global south, and perpetuates the notion that warfare *is* necessary. Patriotism mostly manifests with the love a person has for their country, but it quickly diverts into nationalism.

People feel safe in their comfortable culture, art, history, family and country, and they of course need to protect them from any potential threats. As a result, they become fodder for the racism and xenophobia the right propagandizes.

The oppressed becomes the oppressor, because the mode of oppression is never actually addressed.

The patriarchal capitalist system secures its survival by recuperating the disillusionment and resistance, and rearranging itself due to a constantly differing set of enemies and outsiders, always keeping the fundamental hierarchical structures and power differentials unchanged.

A few individuals make it out somewhat, while most don't. The few that do, continue to suffer under the same alienation and commodification.

The inhumane authority of monopoly capital is considered normal. This competition juggle is considered natural.

Right-wing ideologies are the justifying ideologies of capitalism, and because populism is also a political ideology of capitalism, it manifests with patriotic language and anti-worker policies, so the adherence to it doesn't actually solve anything because the problem is the underlying mode of production, and the patriarchal relations that predate and arise out of this.

The alienation and mental illness capitalism causes has the effect of the continuation of war, exploitation and oppression.

Capitalism is a system in which companies, in order to make a profit, pay workers less than the value their labour produces. Because this sort of exploitation is unethical, and it is present in the production of all commodities, there is no ethical production under capitalism.

The production can't be ethical; the consumption can, up to a point. As an example, when the media or governments speak about fossil fuels, animal experimentation and consumption, etc., the burden of action is solely placed on individuals, while most issues are the result of profit-making enterprises and the state enabling them.

Global warming is accelerating rapidly and the use of fossil fuels is the major factor so going vegan or driving a hybrid car helps. This is where individual responsibility comes in.

Eating less meat will reduce animal agriculture which will in turn reduce gas emissions. It's also the right thing to do for your conscience.

The catch is tho that just changing consumer habits while leaving the fundamental structure of producing commodities (via wage-labour for a profit) intact doesn't do enough.

Supply, mainly governed by the production mode, is a stronger social manipulator than demand, largely governed by consumption, since the state is protecting and incentivizing the former.

Individuals should make choices so as to consume products in a more ethical way, but they should, at the same time, understand that the issue is systemic in nature and focus on exerting pressure to replace the capitalist system.

The focus of legislation should be directed against capitalist interests, and not solely towards raising taxation for the consumers in order to affect demand, for example. At the same time, the capitalist mode of production must become socialist.

Companies are huge conglomerates that direct the production of goods and services, so they have much more power than the individual consumer. Corporations also hold, along with the state, the cultural hegemony, and are therefore the culprits of most societal ills.

The government's job should be to protect people from capitalism, not the other way around. The good standard of living experienced by the higher class should eventually be the standard of living for all people - this is what our elected representatives should strive to achieve.

Moreover, since through commodification capitalism makes us see everything as having an economic value, and because the competitive mindset is deeply ingrained, we haven't learned that caring for other people is actually a good thing for society as a whole.

Marginalized people, like the unhoused and unemployed, are viewed as worthless and solely responsible for their situation.

Disabled people specifically are being treated very unfairly, the social welfare benefits they receive aren't enough to go through the month, and they're constantly threatened with their complete elimination.

The reality is that the government should cover the living needs of all, including housing, food, healthcare, and education. Providing UBI, especially in times of crises, like the Covid-19 pandemic, should also be included.

These should be the actual human rights. If a person doesn't have these needs met since childhood, they won't be able to escape their class, and therefore their fate.

A capitalist isn't someone who believes capitalism is the best system, a capitalist is a means-of-production-holder.

False consciousness makes us believe that we're all capitalists; we're not. We're proles, some are leftists, some are righties and some are in between, but none of us average folk own a large amount of the means of production.

In addition, private property and personal property must be differentiated, but small amounts of means of production, and private property, are owned and used by many business owners who are part of the working class under late-stage capitalism.

The means of production are capital, and accumulate to wealth. Wealth is the accumulation of scarce

resources, and when an individual or a company owns much of it, there aren't many resources left available for the rest of us.

It's absurd and plainly cruel to still keep exorbitant profit margins when capitalists can earn millions in minutes, and the working class has to toil all day to pay their rent, or a trip to the hospital can destroy them financially.

The bourgeois are privileged, they're treated differently than the rest of us. Since they own the means of production or they're just that rich, they can easily give us poor people a part of them, they'll still live with ease. The only reason they don't is because they don't care for us, they view us as lesser.

Capitalists behave in such a way because they want more and more profits, as the very system is predicated on the myth of limitless growth, and actual ignored suffering.

Individual capitalists can have unethical/immoral characters, but it is the system of capitalism that incentivizes this. It inevitably strengthens the bad aspects of a person's character.

The main function of capital today is to generate profits for Imperialist colonialist capitalism. It intersects with public institutions and dictates their policies; it even causes wars.

As it accommodates the fossil fuel industry, it can be considered responsible for millions of deaths, and environmental near-annihilation.

This apocalyptic process marks the fact that capitalism entered its late stage before its abolition, otherwise mass extinction of huge parts of the population is rapidly approaching.

Capitalism doesn't maximize your freedom, it maximizes your suffering. Your freedom will be maximized if anarchocommunism is achieved. Only then

unjust hierarchies will be abolished, and patriarchal oppression and class oppression will no longer exist.

Perfect competition can't exist in the capitalist market, we're not all equally competitive in the job market, for example, due to class oppression.

We're not all made equal under capitalism. Those who make it are, more often than not, privileged to some aspect.

I wrote this book because I have the free time to do it since I don't labour at McDonalds all day because people give me money.

I wrote this book because my parents had the money to provide me with an education, but this isn't possible for an economic immigrant who has been working since they were a child away from their country and home.

Few of us can become highly skilled, many of us can't even go to school. For-profit production is primarily based on the appropriation of the surplus value of human labour, this will always be unfair.

Taking the fruits of another person's labour forcefully is unethical, plain and simple, this is the nature of wage labour.

The surplus-value is converted into types of capital, goods are produced and sold, profits are generated by this exchange, and these profits in turn go to few individuals.

If the products of labour were distributed for free to all, so everyone could reap the benefits of human ingenuity, we would have a different discussion, especially if money as tokens for exchange didn't exist.

Teaching a man to fish or giving them a fish is a disingenuous dichotomy. If you teach a man to fish, but hoard all the fishing lines, and the sea shores available for fishing, and then take the majority of the fishes they caught, is this ethical?

Most consumers are workers, and workers include the employed, the unemployed and the middle class in my analysis.

They make up the majority of the population, so the collaboration of these groups has positive results for everyone. All of us should have free access to social goods, not just the few.

Participatory economic theories, like consumer co-operatives, require much work still, but they show a promising future. Similar projects that try to substitute the current state are already a very successful anarchist praxis.

Michael Albert writes in Parecon that buyers and sellers fleece one another and the public suffers anti-social investment, toxic individualism and ecological decay.

A co-operation of both groups, as workers and consumers, only has positive outcomes for society as a whole.

Participatory economics, often abbreviated to Parecon, is an economic system based on participatory decision making as the primary economic mechanism for allocation in society.

In this system, the say in decision-making is proportional to the impact on a person or group of people.

Participatory economics is a form of socialist decentralized planned economy involving the common ownership of the means of production.

It is a proposed alternative to capitalism and centralized planning, and is primarily associated with political theorist Michael Albert and economist Robin Hahnel, who describe participatory economics as an anarchist economic vision.

The institutions of parecon include workers' and consumers' councils utilizing self-managerial methods

for decision-making, balanced job complexes, remuneration based on individual effort, and wide participatory planning.

There's a possibility of the reproduction of capitalist social relations and classes, so further evolution of these theories is still necessary.

Anarchocommunists are anarchists and communists, so a government that is democratically confederated and organized according to different levels of separate, relative, and directly recallable authority is our goal.

As an example, democratically elected state councils could be comprised of workers' and consumers' councils that would decide the production, allocation and distribution of goods and services like heavy machinery, energy, etc.

A more localized government could distribute health care, organize the production and distribution of locally-grown agricultural products, and a smaller municipal structure could handle street cleaning, or other social care services.

Special interest groups like lgbtq and environmental groups will form councils and elect delegates, as well.

The different horizontal government levels should work with each other, but localized governments should have a degree of autonomy.

Revised parliament structures must exist and decide legislation, and the number of representatives/delegates elected in them should be proportional to the population and decided by a simple majority.

Their representatives should be elected by the direct voting of *all* inhabitants, and each should be recalled swiftly if need be.

The anarchocommunist ideology is guided by marxist, intersectional and anarchist principles, but its versatility, stability and effectiveness should also be judged by scientific, ecological and humane principles.

All that said, in reality, average people don't care much about theory, what they care about is earning an adequate salary to build a life for themselves and their families.

And this is exactly why the right, and especially anarcho-capitalists and fascists, found the opening to inject their opinions into the mainstream.

They sounded common sense and easy to digest, while leftists sounded unnecessarily complex, irrational or lazy.

When people started discussing anarchocapitalism, the anarcho seemed to mean 'wild/free', which is inaccurate because capitalism is already running wild on many soils, there's nothing anarcho about it.

Anarchy can be conceived as the absence of domination, not as with it: anarchy is the absence of unjust hierarchy.

When power is horizontally distributed and authority is justified under humanitarian conditions, when those exercising power and authority are directly electable and recallable, when masters don't exist anymore, when state oppression doesn't exist, we can then call this society an anarchy.

Anarchism as the praxis of anarchy includes direct action and mutual aid focused on helping the community. What's more selfless than that? The individual is choosing freely to offer goods and services to the community.

Many forms of environmentally friendly ideologies gained prominence due to the worsening effects of climate change, like eco fascism which is basically the fascistic utilitarian 'planned economy' that expands its gardens, and veganism, which is simply not eating animals and animal products.

Moreover, because of the apocalyptic nature of the times we're living in, ideologies that try to transcend the

current state of things towards a better more advanced future are also on the rise.

Post-scarcity anarchism, for instance, is an economy in which most goods can be produced in great abundance with minimal human labour needed - smt we can already do if we abandon the capitalist mode of production. Post-scarcity anarchism has much overlap with green anarchism tendencies.

Another example of the above is transhumanism, an ideology belonging in the anarchist and libertarian spaces. Transhumanism is promoting the research and development of human-enhancement technologies.

Such technologies would augment human sensory reception, emotive ability, or cognitive capacity as well as radically improve human health and extend human life spans.

Transhumanism has roots in humanist ideas, but it's also been influenced by concepts like the 'Übermensch' and eugenics.

Therefore, transhumanism must include anti-capitalism, because if not, the capitalist accumulation of wealth would lead to a dystopia. The few rich would be able to technologically enhance themselves, while the poor would end up being a 'primitive' version of the human race.

An anarcho-transhumanist, post-scarcity and social ecology synthesis looks very promising due to the ability of the individual, social and ecological aspects present in these ideologies to bridge the gap between different philosophies.

Luxury gay space communism isn't a pipe dream, we can very much achieve it, the tools exist already.

Being a leftist means being anti-'the right', but not anti-'the rightwingers' Being a leftist is being open and understanding more than anything.

A leftist should work for the popularization of their worldview, while objecting bigoted and misinformed ideas.

Leftist analysis should be applied to all topical issues with an open mind, always guided by anarchocommunist principles.

If I wrote a constitution I would enshrine in it the fundamental human rights that I believe are necessary for the well-being of all people. Rights should have to do with a person's material reality.

These rights must be ensured in perpetuity by the governing body of society, and they should include the right to water, the right to food, to housing, to healthcare, to education, to pension, to a clean environment, to live as the gender(s) or non-gender of your choosing, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, etc.

Legislation should protect these rights, and it should be decided by parliamentary bodies of independent officials that change every five years to avoid corruption.

The aim is for political parties to be rendered unnecessary, and for the representatives of the people to be unaffiliated and independent.

The issue of abstention will be solved if voting became easier for people through modernization, and marginalized communities were no longer barred from participating. The voting age should also be lowered to 17 years of age.

An example of legislating so as to protect actual human rights is the government provided healthcare a person is entitled to, including mental health care. Birth certificates shouldn't include gender, and the government shouldn't allow a person to end up homeless.

The government should legislate further in order to change societal attitudes in regards to gender, sexuality, race, disability, etc., and unconscious biases, by revitalizing education, regulating social media, etc.

Anti-discrimination is already a *de jure* or 'on paper' consideration of social democracy, but the goal is *de facto* ('in practice') equality of opportunity.

These laws should also include school reformations dealing with the subjects being taught.

Students should learn about world history and public governance, and the teaching procedure should be heavily reformed - technology and mental health care should also be included in this process.

In a 'utopian' society the government should provide people with a job they find desirable, and if it can't it must provide them with monetary compensation throughout the full duration of their unemployment, until wage labour becomes obsolete.

All undesirable tasks should be automated, and if not, then we should all do them from time to time, and the workers already employed in them should be paid higher than most professions.

If a sector of production is causing harm to the environment, like sea and air pollution, the state should ideally stop its function, and find production alternatives.

Because of potential class privilege, and the presence of class interests, the peoples' representatives and council members should only have two five-year terms. This should be mandatory, and their wage should be determined by the amount of wealth they possess.

They should receive the same wage as their fellow workers do, provided some government benefits of course, like cars, meals, etc. Public office should be closer to jury duty.

Taxation revenues should be directed towards public institutions/companies, and direct payments to individuals, such as UBI.

The *current* goal is for all labourers is to have a 4-hour workday, a 4-day workweek, and a 9-month work year. The ultimate goal is the complete abolition of wage labour, of all mandatory work.

The minimum wage should be raised to the highest possible level, and the businesses that can't 'compete' should be taken over by the state, except small and medium sized businesses that should be subsidized, initially.

One day, wages will be provided to all people regardless of labour by the state in the form of a UBI, and after that money as tokens for exchange for goods and services will finally be abolished entirely.

In addition, a 'police' body in the form of civil service representatives and social care services providers should exist to serve the public.

The officers shouldn't carry weapons, and they should be easily identifiable. They shouldn't be allowed to use physical force, except in cases when a human life is directly threatened, or to protect themselves from life threats, and escape or de-escalation is not an option.

In the utopian future, almost all weapons would be eliminated for the state and the individual.

The courts would be made of jurors that represent the current ethic/educational/economic make-up of a given area. The judicial branch should be completely re imagined.

Prisons must be abolished, they should at some point become obsolete, and until then, they would operate according to a more humanitarian approach of the Nordic model.

For-profit incarceration and militarized overpolicing, especially of communities where all generational wealth

has been stripped due to white supremacy, has been the norm for far too long.

What I described in this chapter is a part of the anarchocommunist model of social organization, and it of course can be further improved with majority consensus, as that is the nature of ancom.

It's the most efficient and humane way for nature and humanity to survive and flourish.

The most urgent matter society has to tackle now is that of climate change and environmental pollution, and capitalism is the culprit.

The production and use of fossil fuels and their products must be phased out immediately, and alternative forms of energy production and consumer goods should become the norm.

Public energy companies that are *fully* owned and managed by the state should supervise this process, and the government should legislate in order to protect workers and consumers.

This of course includes issuing consumer protections, such as government imposed price fixing on goods and services, the reduction of the amounts of sugar and salt contained in foods and beverages, ideally ending the production and sale of tobacco products for profit, the gradual substitution of animal farming, etc.

Worker protections include the creation of labour courts in some cases, and the criminalization of unreasonable or mass layoffs, environmental pollution and unsafe working conditions.

The goal of anarchocommunists is the revolution, but we accept peaceful roads to socialism as long as they're actually socialist.

If not, we simply revoke our support of them. We keep building the revolution nonetheless, though, we never derail from this even when we follow two different but complimentary roads.

We never betray the revolution, never forget that.

We educate ourselves constantly, and listen to each other, but at the same time stay true to our core values even when we evolve.

We strive to bring about systemic change by the most effective means because we want to actually tear down the capitalist system.

We have to be stable but flexible because this is how our enemy, capitalism, is.

We're all biased; the system made us so. It's when you're using these biases as an excuse to attack marginalized people that they become hate and oppression.

The best tool people have for achieving this model is the strike and the protest, and it's time the police joined the rest of us.

The dreadful practices of military and police services will be removed from this earth, but in order for this dream to be achieved the men, women and non-binary people of all security bodies have to stand with the people.

Stop listening to them. They view you as expendable tools, and you will soon be replaced by AIs.

Stop attacking the people, they're your parents, your brothers, your sisters.

This is how fascism will finally die, and capitalism will forever be abolished.

18| The moral answer about the planet and its people

People have started to see through the spectacle, and escape false consciousness and capitalist realism.

The spectacle, the capitalist propaganda, is highly pervasive, and it's the reason why most ills that plague society remain unaddressed even tho we are the majority.

As we've seen, capitalist processes cause consumerism, alienation, aggressive behaviours, depression, etc.

Since capitalism has privatized many social goods, and the state pretends to look on in amazement, the consumer-worker has no choice but to engage in it, because we need to earn money for food.

The unethical production shouldn't be the excuse for not doing anything about the upcoming ecological catastrophe we face, however. Just buy the products you need in the most ethical way possible, and take them to your mutual aid group.

Engage and organize with your friends and other leftists, even online. May sound silly, but it helps with the psychological angst many of us feel.

The earth is burning and capitalism seems inescapable, but defeatism is never the answer, even if the spectacle would like you to lay down and die.

The propagandizing media serve a double function. They claim to inform us, while in reality, they serve capitalism by feeding us consumerism and patriotism.

They also have to keep the supply of workers high and the demand low in order for wages to stagnate - governments assist these processes. They, as we've seen, need to curb revolutionary sentiments

The psychological effects capitalist propaganda has on you have been well-documented, but when people engage in leftist thought, and receive help, they tend to choose good.

If we learn to identify the capitalist spectacle, we will see beyond it and even understand the oppression inflicted on others. This is crucial.

We have to move away from the highly individualist notions of only looking out for ourselves and start caring for others, and for the environment. In my view, morality isn't irrelevant in this discussion.

Whether you as an individual behave in a moral and ethical way matters a great deal. If nothing is good or bad, then everything is grey. Reprehensible acts are justified under utilitarian excuses, and fascism isn't far from that.

Some acts are immoral, like murdering a child for example, and when we claim that capitalism is just being capitalism when children are dying is not the whole picture.

If individual choices don't actually matter, why would anyone make them at all, or own up to their mistakes for that matter?

Hitler was a nazi, a fascist, and a capitalist, but he was also a monster. Capitalists pursue profit maximization, but some are also highly immoral.

Individual choices reinforce systemic oppressions. Sexism, for example, is a system of oppression but is also perpetuated by people.

Capitalism is also an oppressive system that the people can topple, and claiming this is insurmountable is capitalist propaganda to neutralise any potential threat beforehand.

Capitalist wage-labour is not our fate, it's something that's happening to us, and we will overturn it though revolution.

Fascists and capitalists prey upon demoralisation, and If capitalism has no escape, why even fight it? Capitalist realism suppresses hope and sustains inaction.

People are mostly the results of the systems they were brought under, but stifling any form of individuality is an immoral characteristic of fascism, and in fact of most systems of oppression.

If our individual values are immoral, how can the social values we leftists want to instil be any different? They will be biased. How will our society and our revolution not repeat the mistakes of the past if us and everyone around us are immoral?

You sense of self matters, ethical actions matter, don't let anyone tell you otherwise.

Individual choices should be ethical, but we should forgive people and give them the benefit of the doubt.

We all have our reasons, and if we cancel those willing to change, there won't be anyone left to revolt. We will become fractionalized, and demoralised even further.

Kindness as praxis is difficult, the oppression is not the fault of the oppressed, but even the oppressors are

oppressed in some other way, so their rehabilitation is very important.

People, given the proper encouragement, especially systemic encouragement, will choose good. Humanity has this capacity.

The notion that the enemy is bad and we are the good guys is a tactic that American imperialist capitalist propaganda has perpetuated for a long time, from the devil of cultural marxism to the threat of violent muslims.

The evil of American exceptionalism on a global scale is a discussion that requires accepting facts. The US is the main obstacle for the establishment of communism.

The EU, the UK, Canada, Russia, etc. are sustaining capitalism as well, but without the US many of the problems most countries face would disappear.

Abolishing the imperialist patriarchal capitalist US state is a huge task that requires unity and numbers, and this process demands changing the public perceptions about communism.

The best tool we have in our disposal is history, the history of the crimes the US has committed on every soil.

Thomas Sankara, the President of Burkina Faso from 1983 to 1987 was a socialist in the worst scenario who actually tried to battle patriarchal capitalist oppression and made many improvements, but as always, an organized coup happened that ended in his execution.

The country of Burkina Faso now relies on US aid, the country's literacy rate is abysmal, and civilian massacres are a common occurrence.

The imperialist story usually goes as follows: A popular revolt takes place in a country, often in the global south, because of years of imperialist capitalist oppression. Said country starts to get better when the revolution succeeds and socialist policies are adopted.

The US, and its European allies, interfere, usually by assassinating government members or by organizing coups.

The country falls back into chaos, and their greedy capitalist hands are free to resource extract once more. Then the cycle starts again in another country.

If socialism is a failed system, why are they doing everything in their power to not let it succeed?

Many African countries have faced similar ordeals, and the effects they still experience are horrific. The neighbouring Niger, for instance, has been plagued with strings of civilian massacres, leaving hundreds dead.

Weapons dealers and private defence contractors are given free rein to commit crimes in foreign lands for profit, see the many tragedies in Iraq and Afghanistan that have caused multiple deaths.

Religious fundamentalists, both foreign and domestic, also spread misinformation in the region.

Furthermore, refugees running for their lives are denied entry in many European countries, like Greece and Italy.

Even worse, many get drowned in the cold waters of the Mediterranean Sea. Western countries that do not accept refugees should be persecuted under international law.

The imperialist capitalist plaque put upon the African continent knows no bounds. The Aids/HIV epidemic that's been ravaging it was allowed to do so by George Bush and others - it's also tied to imperialist and colonialist practices.

Pharmaceutical companies have conducted unethical clinical trials on the population, see how several women in Cameroon became HIV-infected while enrolled in a trial testing the antibiotic Tenofovir. Capitalism is unethical, plain and simple.

As another example, right-wing policies impede the government of Zimbabwe to provide health care to their citizens. The disastrous 1995 Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) brought a decline in social service delivery, and the introduction of user fees at health centres in an overall economic environment of declining employment (Murisa, 2010).

In Senegal, ISIS branches armed by the US are causing unimaginable deaths, and the people are living under fascism and constant war.

The victimization of Muslims the world over is also horrifying. The entire Middle East has been in constant warfare for decades, and their failed states were manufactured, or encouraged, by capitalists and fascists supported by, or originating from, the US.

Decisions made by the US government, the Pentagon and private gun manufacturers actually shape the way of life in many countries.

The military as an institution is oppressive and in need of abolishment, and capitalism profits from the crimes it commits.

The majority of times, capitalism, through its dependency with the state, has actually caused wars to begin with, usually for energy resources like fossil fuels, but its effects are also more subtle at times.

In Myanmar, for example, entire Muslim villages were being eradicated, and facebook was profiting from pro-genocide and racist comments through ad engagement.

In Eastern Europe, as well, capitalism and its actors play with countries' economies. Vladimir Putin is an imperialist capitalist who accommodates other mafia leaders only as he enriches himself, and his regime condones and profits from the essentially forced sex work that plaques half of Russia's population.

He and his ruling elites furthermore impose compulsory military recruitment, and drug addiction (by

control of black market trade as well), and force the migration and criminalization of the people.

Leo Panitch argued that globalization is the spread of global capitalism. The imperialist capitalist US state, the imperialist capitalist EU, global capitalist institutions, and most world powers are using every tool in their disposal, like the IMF, to keep profiteering, and expand capitalism to every country.

Capitalists establish free markets, inflict debt and unfavourable trade deals upon already oppressed nations, sanctions are imposed on poor nations, and the outsourcing of entire factories has resulted in slave-like working conditions in many countries, like India and China.

Just look at the Albanian civil war. After the collapse of the Hoxha regime in 1991, the economy was apparently 'liberated'. This liberation included the creation of multiple private banks that in turn engaged in pyramid/ponzi schemes.

They promised people high returns on their savings, so the Albanians deposited their money in large numbers.

These banks then closed down while stealing everyone's money. As a result, the social unrest reached a boiling point which led to the 1997 Albanian civil war during the democrat Clinton administration. Since then, millions have been driven to forced migration to earn an income.

Imperialist capitalism has even divided countries. In the Korean peninsula, for instance, where two situations are taking place.

In the North, the US is keeping people hungry through sanctions, military aggression, international pressure, etc.

US imperialist capitalists and USSR imperialist state capitalists artificially divided a country, and basically

isolated the North. North Koreans are working in bad conditions, and they can't speak up against state oppression.

In the South, the US government and their capitalists have been given free reign. There's even a change in dietary habits because of big fast food companies, despite the fact that healthy food is pretty much a staple in Korean culture.

The plastic surgery market and patriarchal capitalist propaganda, mostly through ads and talk shows, also reinforce western beauty standards.

Not to mention the horrible k-pop industry working conditions, tech company scandals like the one with Samsung, etc. The South Korean middle class is also overworked, in debt, and depressed.

Depression and suicide rates because of overwork and the patriarchy have been skyrocketing in Japan, as well.

In Latin America at least a dozen coups have been orchestrated or supported by the US, including under 'Operation Condor'. In Bolivia, Morales was ousted violently by a far-right militia. In Chile, the US supported the Pinochet dictatorship's coup.

In Vietnam, the US has deployed tons of agent orange - children are still being born suffering from its effects.

In several Middle Eastern countries, the patriarchy has been further sustained and promoted through Islamic teachings, due to the need for defence against US aggression, or it has been outright supported and promoted by the US itself.

In Yemen, Saudi Arabia is committing crimes and half the country has no drinking water because the US decided to earn more money from oil, and from dealing and manufacturing weapons.

On US soil, military veterans are suffering from mental illness, addiction, and homelessness, and the

President is not even considering policies that actually tackle these issues.

How will the crimes against humanity be rectified when international organizations don't hold those responsible for them accountable?

Fascism in its basic ultranationalist palingenetic form is an ideology rife with excluding those deemed low on a cultural hierarchy of 'worthiness'.

As a result, individual rights are thwarted. We, as anarchocommunists, need to speak about these matters loud and clear.

You know the poem from the German Lutheran pastor Martin Niemöller (1892–1984):

“First they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out because I was not a socialist. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out because I was not a Jew. Then they came for me, and there was no one left to speak for me.”

The imperialist capitalist US state is spilling the blood of people the world over.

Capitalism as a form of oppression uses similar tactics to fascism, or is outright reproducing it.

Individual responsibility can only go so far when your social existence is oppressive, however.

Marx wrote that it's not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.

People are the result of their nurture and not their nature. Circumstances and environment affect one's character and actions.

When you're bombarded by relentless fascist or capitalist propaganda, and you're in debt and/or

overworked, believing in conspiracy theories doesn't seem so extreme.

If you factor in the absurd extent to which far-right street gangs are allowed to operate, and that capitalist and fascist propaganda intersect, how someone becomes a fascist becomes apparent.

Healing society is a monumental task that requires all of us collectively, and each of us acting ethically so as to maximize a group outcome that doesn't kill nature. This is why it's so hard.

People that have every right to be alienated from each other have to come together, and work in unison for the benefit of all. Enemies must become friends.

Racism and sexism, and other forms of systemic oppression, are also forms of false consciousness.

They're propagandized from, and are ingrained in, our systems, and capitalism oppresses all of us. The best solution we have is to individually and collectively fight them, there isn't any other alternative.

We must advocate changing right-wing policies, and at the same time, create a big enough momentum to enact systemic change to such a level where no bigotry, poverty or illness will ever again impede humanity from reaching its great future.

I know taking down capitalism seems like an impossible task, but it's not. It has happened before, and even if most movements evolved into state capitalism and fascism, this time it'll be different.

This time we denounce violence and death. This time we don't have any ideological differences separating us because we all have the same goal, liberation, and the means to get there will be non-authoritarian and democratic.

This time, we're not afraid of the revolution because we're all part of it. This time we're not even afraid of

dying from their guns because we have such large numbers that they can't kill all of us.

But most of all, this time we're not afraid because we care for *everyone*, and we all have someone we must save from the capitalist and patriarchal chains.

In this book, I've tried to explain how I see political theory, and I've presented many examples of how capitalism and the patriarchy oppress us all.

The point of the theory I created here is to analyse the world around you through its lenses so that you understand what's happening, and how to change it. What's left now is action.

I can go on and on about how I see nature changing, and what it's saying, but the overarching point is that pretty much everything is polluted, and climate change is accelerating.

The effects of this catastrophe are pervasive and well-documented, the apocalypse is already happening.

Ice is melting and oceans are absorbing carbon gases and warming, and therefore also expanding and acidifying. The middle east is reaching burning temperatures, and in some cases, deserts will start forming in places where once there were rivers and trees.

The Amazon is burned throughout huge swaths, countless animals are dead in Africa, and entire species have been obliterated globally.

Health impacts because of extreme weather will lead to injury and loss of life. Under nutrition brought on by crop failures will start to become extremely common.

Various infectious diseases are more easily transmitted in a warmer climate, such as dengue fever and malaria, which affects children most severely.

Young children are also the most vulnerable to food shortages, and together with older people, to extreme heat.

On land, the temperatures have risen about twice as fast as the global average, deserts are expanding, and heat waves and wildfires are becoming more common, as are droughts, floodings, and storms.

The earth can't protect itself from the sun without an ozone, and greenhouse gases severely affect it. A warming earth has several consequences too many to list, so the situation will only get worse and worse.

The only solution is to essentially stop using fossil fuels, especially for large-scale industrial production for profit at our expense, like coal, oil, natural gas, etc., and products like plastic and wood, most of which we can replace with bio plastics and recycled materials, immediately.

Renewable energy is the best solution, but fission nuclear chain reactors should be abandoned due to risks/waste. Fusion research shows promise. A good course of action is the substitution of fossil fuels with solar power.

It's undeniable and urgent, but let's not be pessimistic about it. It's a big task; it requires all of us working collectively, and helping others.

It's doable though, and it really matters. So unity should not just be a word, but a set of actions.

Capitalism and the patriarchy must be abolished; they cause all the harm that's happening around us.

The earth is dying, and with it, we will die too. In order to save it, we have to individually do good deeds, sure, but while focusing on systemic changes.

I've presented the spectra, the political ideology cycle, and further developed the anarchocommunist ideology.

The anarchocommunist ideology undeniably seeks to unite people since it's a synthesis of anarchism, intersectionality, and communism.

What the anarchocommunist can do is advocate for leftist policies, strike, protest, vote communist parties and candidates, help other people any way they can, support food banks, community gardens, tenants unions, labour unions, non-corporate cooperatives, call their representatives, buy more ethical commodities, give money to the poor, call out the bigots with kindness, try to educate and be patient with each other, etc.

In general, do direct action, and love your fellow beings. If we want Earth to survive, we all have to work together.

We don't need tyrannical leaders to tell us what to do, we have each other. We should organize in order to fight systemic oppression, and uphold democracy as a high principle.

We shouldn't be violent, but we should react to oppression with defensive means.

Don't worry. There will come a time when humans, animals and plants will be happy and safe, but it takes courage, effort, solidarity and patience, even when everything around you tells you otherwise.

Love is the key and compassion is the guiding principle.

This is how we will abolish the Patriarchy and Capitalism.

For we are the many.

Endnote

All these years capitalism and the patriarchy have hurt us deeply, and have made us hurt each other. These systems perpetuate oppression, and sometimes seem insurmountable.

They fill us with sadness and anxiety, lead us to addictive or criminal behaviours, make us aggressive and cruel, and mostly leave us unable to react. But we shouldn't forget that these systems are made out of people, are made out of us.

Sexism hurts women, but over-focusing on someone who causes us harm will make things worse. Men need to step up tho, but when they deal with racists, sexists, etc., they should do so with logic and calmness.

If men don't show us that masculinity can be positive, then who will? Men hold the power and privileges, and if some of them don't push back, how will the rest change?

This is the case about capitalism too, learn about it. Talk to those around you about its processes, but don't stoop to its level. Don't only seek profit but learn to give, as well.

Get educated and read about leftism. Learn about what's happening around you through anarchist, intersectional and communist lenses. Learn what Marx, Kropotkin, Crenshaw, and others wrote, learn about capitalism and the patriarchy.

Read and watch leftist journalists and influencers on sites, YouTube, TikTok, etc. If you get educated, you'll start to understand how the world works, and how you can change it.

When you try to change the world, you'll continue to hurt and get angry, that's the truth. But if you talk about the things that trouble you, you won't feel so weak.

We should talk about the environment that's dying, about the employer that threatens us, about the Romani child that died.

If we get educated, if receive psychological support, if we talk to friends and comrades, if we're moral, and if we take action, if we care about one another and not just about ourselves, then these systems will lose their oppressive ability.

The foundations on which they're built will crumble. If we become better, we will create better systems.

Vote for the most leftist parties, strike and protest, get politically organized in your area, help the

unhoused, feed some animals. Don't only care for yourselves.

And slowly, day by day, things will start to get better. Slowly but surely, we'll start feeling better, and the world around us will become better.

Don't lose hope, keep fighting.